THE SEQUEL TO CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

THE DAWN OF THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN ENGLAND, 1781-1803. With numerous Portraits and other Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo, 25s. net.

THE EVE OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, being the History of the English Catholics during the First Thirty Years of the Nineteenth Century. With Portraits and other Illustrations. 3 vols. 8vo.

Vols. I. and II. 1803-1820. 21s. net.

Vol. III. 1820-1829. 12s. 6d. net.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BISHOP CHALLONER (1691-1781). By EDWIN H. BURTON, D.D., Vice-President of St. Edmund's College, Ware. With 34 Portraits and other Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo, 25s. net.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.,

LONDON, NEW YORK, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, AND MADRAS.

His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman
Bishop of Melipotamus and Vicar Apostolic 1840-1850
Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster 1850-1865
From a painting at St. Edmund's College

Emery Walker Ph. sc.

THE SEQUEL TO CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS CONTINUED DOWN TO THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THEIR HIERARCHY IN 1850

BY THE RIGHT REV.

MONSIGNOR BERNARD WARD, F.R.HIST.S.

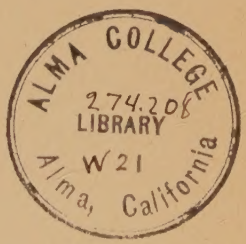
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DE FRANCE
PRESIDENT OF ST. EDMUND'S COLLEGE
AUTHOR OF "THE DAWN OF THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN ENGLAND (1781-1803)"
AND "THE EVE OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION (1803-1829)"

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

1840-1850

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS



LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
FOURTH AVENUE & 30TH STREET, NEW YORK
BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, AND MADRAS
1915

3418

Nihil Obstat.

F. Thomas Bergh, O.S.B.,
Censor Deputatus.

Imprimatur.

Edmundus Surmont, D.D.,
Vicarius Generalis.

Westmonasterii, *die* 9 *Julii*, 1914.

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAP.		PAGE
XIII.	Dr. Wiseman at Oscott	1
XIV.	The Regular Clergy	18
XV.	Frederick Lucas and the *Tablet*	31
XVI.	Frederick Lucas and the *Tablet* (*continued*). Decline of the Catholic Institute. Death of Bishop Baines	47
XVII.	Father Mathew in England	59
XVIII.	Repeal of the Penal Laws	72
XIX.	The Oxford Movement	83
XX.	The Oxford Movement (*continued*). The Early Converts	105
XXI.	The New Converts (*continued*)	117
XXII.	The Irish Famine	130
XXIII.	The Bishops and Education	146
XXIV.	Last Illness and Death of Bishop Griffiths	159
XXV.	Dr. Wiseman in London	173
XXVI.	Proposed Diplomatic Relations between England and the Holy See	186

CHAP. PAGE

XXVII. The Hierarchy Negotiations (*continued*). Mission of Bishop Ullathorne . . . 205

XXVIII. Disappointment and Delay. The Revolutions 223

XXIX. Converts and Old Catholics 236

XXX. The Rood Screen Controversy . . . 261

XXXI. Cardinal Wiseman's Pastoral from the Flaminian Gate 279

Appendix to Volume II. 295

Chronological Table 313

Index. 319

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE SECOND VOLUME.

His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, Bishop of Melipotamus and Vicar Apostolic, 1840-50; Archbishop of Westminster, 1850-65 . . . . . *Frontispiece*

From a painting at St. Edmund's College.

FACING PAGE

St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham 12

A modern photograph, from The History of St. Chad's Cathedral (Cornish Bros., 1904).

Father Dominic, C.P. 22

From a portrait at St. Joseph's Retreat, Highgate.

Frederick Lucas 32

From a photograph.

Thomas Chisholm Anstey 72

From a photograph.

William George Ward 110

From a photograph.

Contemporary Skit on Littlemore and Oscott . . 118

Preserved at Oscott.

Right Rev. William Bernard Ullathorne, O.S.B., Bishop of Hetalona, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, 1846-48; of the Central District, 1848-50; Bishop of Birmingham, 1850-88; Archbishop of Cabasa, 1888-89 . 162

From a print at Oscott; the earliest portrait of Dr. Ullathorne as Bishop.

FACING PAGE

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN 174

From a painting by Roden in the Manchester Art Gallery, by kind permission of the Corporation.

REV. FREDERICK WILLIAM FABER 178

The earliest photograph as an Oratorian.

ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL, SOUTHWARK 184

From a contemporary print at St. George's.

HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL FRANSONI, Prefect of Propaganda, 1835-56 214

From an engraving in the Catholic Directory for 1857.

RIGHT REV. THOMAS WALSH, Bishop of Cambysopolis, Co-adjutor, 1825; Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, 1826-40; of the Central District, 1840-48; and of the London District, 1848-49 234

From a painting by Herbert at Oscott.

THE ORATORY, KING WILLIAM STREET, LONDON . . 256

From a water-colour painting at the London Oratory.

ROOD SCREEN AT ST. EDMUND'S COLLEGE 268

From a contemporary lithograph.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S, RAMSGATE, SHOWING PUGIN'S HOUSE, "ST. MARIE'S GRANGE" 274

From a photograph.

FIRST PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF WESTMINSTER, JULY, 1852 . 290

An unfinished painting by James Doyle (brother of "Dicky" Doyle), at Oscott. (*For key see p.* 311.)

THE SEQUEL TO CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

CHAPTER XIII.

DR. WISEMAN AT OSCOTT.

THE arrival of Dr. Wiseman in England coincided with the opening of what we must look upon as a new era in our Catholic history. Father Amherst, who remembered those days, speaks of the "almost sudden change for the better which undoubtedly began to show itself about the year 1840," and declares that "the effect which the events of those days produced upon thousands of Catholics in England was like the effect of the first fine days of spring after a long and dreary winter".[1]

The indications of the improved outlook which he specifies were many. First he mentions the attitude of activity of the hereditary Catholics, as typified by "the loyal, the vigilant, the practical Charles Langdale" and the Catholic Institute. Then there was Dr. Wiseman himself, "with his large heartedness, ready and eager to engage the services of every one in the great work in which he was to take so prominent a part". He next speaks of "the enthusiastic and energetic Pugin, who was enlisting all whom he could in a crusade to revive Christian taste, and banish the spirit of Paganism, which was threatening to destroy the beauty of God's house"; and as somewhat allied with the same movement he speaks of the crusade of the Rev. George Spencer for the recovery to England of her ancient heritage, the Catholic faith. Then, of course, there was the Oxford Movement, which was gradually attracting more and more attention, and which was destined to have such important results on the future of the Church in England; and the influx of converts of the educated classes which had already begun. Side by side with this was the increasing immigration from Catholic Ireland, destined to have in its way

[1] *History of Catholic Emancipation*, p. 3.

quite as important an effect, though this did not reach its height till towards the end of the decade. Last, but not least, he alludes to the outspoken Frederick Lucas, who by the bold line which he took in editing the *Tablet*, to be mentioned presently, became a power which even those who were out of sympathy with many of his views, could not fail to recognise, and whose example was to be a powerful help to induce those who had been brought up in the retiring traditions begotten of the Penal Laws to face the British public fearlessly and courageously.

These and other signs were inspiring the rising generation of Catholic laymen with hope and confidence for the future, and they welcomed Dr. Wiseman into their midst. Ever since his memorable lectures in London they had looked to him as the one possible leader who would command the respect of all, non-Catholics as well as Catholics. They had longed for the day when he would come to live permanently amongst them, and now that that day had come, they formed high visions of the future. The clergy, too, in the Central District were less prejudiced against him than those elsewhere, and they were not long in realising that he was a really great man, and being proud of his presence amongst them.

Dr. Wiseman himself was fully conscious of the change which was going on around him. "Never, never for an instant did I waver," he wrote, "in my conviction that a new era had commenced in England." The probability is in fact rather that he exaggerated in his mind the change which was coming over the country, great though it undoubtedly was, and he formed visions and hopes of returning glory to the ancient Church of the land far greater than were in fact ever realised. Moreover, he was conscious of his own power of entering into the minds of converts in a broader spirit than that which had become traditional among English Catholics. From the first he looked upon his work at Oscott as that of a high ecclesiastic, with a position which the Presidency gave him, and the consequent opportunity of receiving distinguished guests, and causing the College to become a centre for the new movement. These are his words :—[1]

"Among the providential agencies that seemed justly timed, and even necessary for [the hoped-for influx of converts]

[1] *Life*, i., p. 348

appeared to me the erection of this noble College in the very heart of England. Often in my darkest days and hours, feeling as if alone in my hopes, have I walked in front of it, and casting my eyes towards it, exclaimed to myself, 'No, it was not to educate a few boys that this was erected, but to be the rallying-point of the yet silent but vast movement towards the Catholic Church, which has commenced, and must prosper'. I felt as assured of this as if the word of prophecy had spoken it."

This is what Canon Bernard Smith—the well-known convert—means when he describes Dr. Wiseman as "a great Bishop rather than a great President," adding that "his distinction gave *prestige* to Oscott, and drew many eminent men to the place; but the *minutiæ* of College discipline and *routine* did not interest him. He left such things to others."

Dr. Wiseman's reception at Oscott was made to accord with his own views of the position and work before him, and consisted of the full ceremonial of the Roman Pontifical for the entry of a new Bishop into his diocese. He arrived at the Pugin Lodge at eleven o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, September 9, 1840; and having there put on his ecclesiastical vestments[1]—consisting of the Odescalchi cope, presented to the College by the Earl of Shrewsbury, and a jewelled mitre—was conducted in solemn procession up the drive, along the fine terraces in front of the College, and into the Chapel, while the choir sang the *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*. The procession included the theological students of the College, and as many of the Midland clergy as could be assembled at short notice, all in cassock and surplice. The boys lined the drive on either side, and when the choir had passed, they formed up behind the Bishop; and there were many visitors from Birmingham and elsewhere, the whole forming a long and impressive procession. On arriving in the Chapel the *Te Deum* was solemnly chanted.

The aged Bishop, Dr. Walsh, was present in the gallery of the Chapel, as also was Dr. Wareing, who was awaiting his own consecration, which was to take place a few days later. But perhaps the most striking figure of the assembly was the

[1] The details given here differ somewhat from those in the *Life of Cardinal Wiseman;* but as they are taken from several independent accounts—in the *Orthodox Journal*, *Catholic Magazine*, *Tablet*, etc.—written at the time, they are probably correct.

aged Dr. Kirk, who despite his fourscore years, had ridden all the way from his mission at Lichfield in order to take part in the celebration. He was indeed a veritable link with the past: one who had been a student of the English College at Rome under the Jesuits, before the suppression of the Society in 1773, now sixty-seven years later welcoming home the second Rector of that College since its revival under the English secular clergy.

In the midst of the general rejoicing of that day and the *éclat* with which the new President began his reign at Oscott, the thoughts of a few faithful friends at least must have been turned to the pathetic figure of Dr. Weedall, who was now homeless. For on his arrival in Rome, he had not had much difficulty in obtaining a release from the episcopate, and he returned to England only to find his place at Oscott filled. Moreover, it was manifest to all, however much they might have veiled their language, that the appointment of the President and Vice-President of Oscott to become Vicars Apostolic was done for the express purpose of making room for Dr. Wiseman; and Dr. Walsh had been definitely directed to insist on their accepting the posts offered. This put the Bishop in a difficult position. He had not specially wanted Dr. Wiseman for his Coadjutor, and although he was willing enough to accept the appointment, and forthwith co-operated by giving him the fullest possible powers, he felt the difficulty with respect to Dr. Weedall, and took refuge in avoiding him. Hence we see poor Dr. Weedall wandering from place to place, seeking employment. He even thought of leaving the district, having come to the conclusion that he was not wanted, and accepting work under his former Vice-President, Dr. Wareing, who was establishing a small Seminary for the education of his clergy at Giffard Hall in Suffolk. Eventually he was offered the headship of the Preparatory School which had been established at old Oscott. With remarkable humility he accepted the offer, and assumed this comparatively low position within a stone's throw of the great College which he had built and presided over. But he soon found that his presence so near was an embarrassment to the authorities. Even the former members of his own staff were shy of meeting him, and while the activity of which Oscott became the centre pro-

ceeded, he was isolated and alone a mile away. After a few months he resigned, and retired to Hampton-on-the-Hill, a small country mission; and afterwards he removed to Leamington. But his separation from Oscott, which had been his home for thirty-six years, was an insuperable trial to him; and this separation was destined to last over thirteen years, until in his old age he was recalled to preside there once more.[1] It is characteristic of the self-absorption of Dr. Wiseman's disposition that among his numerous letters of that period which have come down to us no single allusion is to be found to his unfortunate predecessor, whose career he was the unwitting cause of wrecking; and perhaps this throws into even greater relief the saintly humility and self-effacement of him who suffered all in silence and without a word of reproach to anyone.

Having been formally installed at Oscott, Dr. Wiseman next proceeded to re-arrange his surroundings. His own view of his new position can be given in his own words, from a letter to Lingard, written in answer to the latter's congratulation on his appointment. He wrote as follows:—[2]

"St. Mary's College, 11 *November*, 1840.

"My dear Lingard,

"Your kind letter has given me sincere gratification, and I accept in equal parts your congratulation and condolence, for I think I may say I stand between the horns of your dilemma without being quite gored by either. It had been proposed by Dr. Walsh four years ago to me to accept my present office. I replied that I would hold myself perfectly neuter, would not refuse if I was appointed, but would of course concur in no steps for obtaining it. Whenever the Pope spoke to me about it, generally telling me that he wished me ultimately to go to England, but wished me to remain in the College some time longer, I always replied that I had no choice, but would either stay or go as he ordered me. My own wish was to return to England a simple priest, without

[1] We may quote the well-known words of Bishop Ullathorne in his funeral sermon on Dr. Weedall in 1859: "In his vigour of life he had raised that College in its splendour, and he left it prospering; he returned to it in its hour of difficulty and expended in its service the energies that yet remained to him".

[2] *Southwark Archives.*

responsibility, and for this I spoke to his Holiness, but this no one would hear of; and I had no alternative but either to renounce the strong desire I had of being in England in these stirring times, or coming over in my present capacity. Thus I have got here, and I find everything to my hand that I could desire for furthering my views—a magnificent College, with a still more magnificent library; professors some already most able, the rest qualifying themselves to raise our education to the highest standard; a united and zealous clergy; a fine opening at Birmingham for every Catholic institution. These are certainly great advantages, which, conjointly with a central position, I could hardly have found elsewhere. As to my own pursuits, if worthy of a thought or mention, I think I shall have quite as much time as I had at Rome as soon as I have got all things here as I expect and wish, and have organised what seems to me to have been much neglected till now, proper regulation for the official transaction of ecclesiastical affairs. Till now the Bishops' writing desks seem to have been the only chancery and archivium of the districts; and the whole episcopal regimen seems to have led a sort of nomadic life, wandering about in stage coaches or gigs from place to place. A letter to a Bishop was almost a random shot, which at most could catch him while on the wing. Provision for the immediate attention to the transaction of all business and for the regular preservation of all documents, deeds, etc. (now scattered over the missions), is making in the new residence erecting for the Bishop in Birmingham, and we are getting things into train for the due observance of such matters.

"I have several advantages here for study beyond what I enjoyed in Rome—the library in the house, more facility for procuring new books, greater power of prolonged application from the effects of climate and freedom from visits. So I hope I am not idle. . . .

"I am, my dear Lingard,
"(N. WISEMAN)."[1]

In order to carry out his ideas, Dr. Wiseman's first thought was to bring with him Rev. William Thompson, his

[1] The signature is torn off, apparently for a collector of autographs.

former pupil and life-long friend, who had accompanied him from Rome, to become his private and official secretary. He explained his views in a letter to Dr. Newsham, asking him to place the matter before Dr. Mostyn, who had become Bishop of the Northern District to which the Rev. W. Thompson belonged :—[1]

"It is not merely as a matter of great personal comfort to myself that I should wish to have him. I am anxious to introduce into this District (and I do not doubt but that others when they see it will adopt it) the regular ecclesiastical forms of business, as practised in episcopal chanceries in other countries, by which everything is properly filed and preserved, answers instantly returned, and business despatched independently of the Bishop's travels, etc. Now for this purpose I must have an assistant who is willing to do the drudgery of copying (Italian as well as English), of registering, etc. This he would do from long personal attachment to me, and I know no one else that I could ask to do it for me."

Apparently Dr. Mostyn was slow to accept the picture drawn by Dr. Wiseman of the manner in which episcopal business was conducted in England, and doubted Dr. Wiseman's capability to effect an improvement, for he met his request with a final negative. At this Dr. Wiseman expressed himself much hurt. "I feel," he wrote,[2] "that God calls on me for another sacrifice of my attachments and feelings after those I have made (which have been severer than people can know, and are as yet keenly felt), and I am willing to make it. . . . I will cheerfully go on without this comfort which may after all be too selfish a desire."

He chose as his Vice-President the Cambridge convert, Rev. H. C. Logan, who had likewise been under him in Rome, and who to some extent shared his hopes for the conversion of England. In this respect he also found a sympathetic colleague in Rev. George Spencer, who was already in the College. No other change was made for the moment, and the remainder of the staff were practically strangers to Dr. Wiseman's schemes for the future. Of this the latter was painfully conscious. In a later memorandum he writes: "I have reason now to know that *not one* [of those] working with

[1] *Ushaw Magazine*, December, 1912, p. 275. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

me thought with me, or felt with me. . . . How seldom has a word been spoken which intimated that those who entered the College considered it as more than a mere place of boys' education." Considering that the work of the College included the training of the future clergy of one quarter of England, it seems remarkable that one with Dr. Wiseman's experience should so belittle its importance. In truth he never had much appreciation of the routine work of College life, which he perforce left in the hands of his staff; and the greater responsibility was thrown on them on account of his frequent and often long absences. Within a few months of his appointment, in addition to his numerous engagements as Bishop Auxiliary of the District, we find him first at Bath, then at Ushaw assisting and preaching at the consecration of two of the new Bishops, then at Dublin, preaching at the opening of the Church at Westland Row, and more than once in London preaching on some solemn occasion. During the following year he spent some time in Belgium; later on he visited Spain, and so on. These journeys, which in our own day could be accomplished with comparative ease, at that date cost a large amount of time and fatigue. When he was at home he did not undertake any regular teaching, but he used to give conferences, etc., to the theological students from time to time. A little later his old friend Rev. George Errington followed him to Oscott, and became Prefect of Studies; and he likewise secured the assistance of some of the Fathers of Charity, after they had left Prior Park.

Dr. Wiseman has left behind him the reputation of a successful Presidency at Oscott. In one sense this was well deserved, for he brought the College into notice, and by his presence induced many influential families to have their boys educated there. And he entertained some distinguished guests at the College. In addition to the Oxford converts—to whom a subsequent chapter will be devoted—he also received at different times men of eminence in various walks of life. On one occasion his Royal Highness Prince Henri de Bourbon conferred the honour of a visit on the College, a week's extra holiday being granted to commemorate the event. In 1844 Daniel O'Connell also came to Oscott and received an address from the students, to which he made a

suitable reply. Pugin was a frequent visitor, and Dr. Wiseman practically gave him *carte blanche* to fit up the interior of the Chapel and Sacristy, the result being the solid and beautiful ecclesiastical furniture which forms such a feature there.

Dr. Wiseman's large ideas, however, could not be carried out without a corresponding expenditure of money. He was very generous in advancing large sums out of his private means; but he afterwards claimed repayment of these, and in view of the free way in which he administered the College money, it was popularly said that financially the College far from prospered under his *régime*. Moreover, his long absences, and his evident want of interest in the internal work of the house, soon told on its discipline, and the number of students began to dwindle. It was frequently said that the efficiency of the work of the College—studies, discipline, and the rest—was better under the old superiors than under the new. Gradually matters went from bad to worse, as we can gather from the following letter a few years later from Dr. Walsh to Dr. Errington:—[1]

"I mentioned to (Dr. Wiseman) what had happened in the College in consequence of the collapsed state of discipline, and recommended him to give up entirely to Dr. Logan the management of the discipline of the College, and to confine himself more particularly to the spiritual department, in which he excelled, and which would give him frequent opportunities of animating the boys to attend to their studies from a motive of religion. I intimated that I expected much good from the spiritual retreat he would soon give to them. . . . You will doubtless endeavour to cheer him, and to keep up his spirits. All may come right, and the College may still flourish."

One source of distraction which could not fail to take Dr. Wiseman's attention from the details of the College management was his solicitude for the affairs of the District of which he was Bishop Auxiliary. As Dr. Walsh grew older and more infirm, especially after his severe illness in the latter half of 1842, the administration of diocesan affairs, both financial and other, passed more and more into Dr. Wiseman's hands. It was an eventful period, when all Catholic work was developing apace. During his seven years' residence in the Mid-

[1] *Birmingham Archives* (Begbroke).

lands two important new Pugin churches were completed, both of which are now used as episcopal Cathedrals—St. Barnabas's, Nottingham, and St. Chad's, Birmingham. The opening of the latter has often been spoken of as the ushering in of the "Second Spring". A short account of it must accordingly be given.

The idea of building a Cathedral at Birmingham was revived by Bishop Walsh himself in 1839. This time he did not call together any Committee, but kept the matter in his own hands, opening a subscription list, to which he devoted a certain part of the Blundell Legacy, which has been referred to in a previous chapter.[1] He decided to use the site of the existing church of St. Chad, which was accordingly pulled down after Easter, 1839. The Rev. T. McDonnell of St. Peter's wrote accepting the Bishop's decision, and promising his co-operation. "It is the most painful step which I have ever been required to take," he wrote ;[2] "but I do it for the sake of One who has made a much more bitter sacrifice for me." He did not however keep his word, but continued to declare that the site was unsuitable for a large church, and also that the Bishop had promised that the new Cathedral should be independent of either his parish or that of St. Chad. The foundation-stone of the new Cathedral was solemnly laid on October 29, so as to secure the presence of Dr. Wiseman, who again visited England that year, and preached on the occasion ; but Mr. McDonnell refused to take any part in the day's proceedings.

Once more therefore, on November 15, 1839, Bishop Walsh wrote a second time asking him to leave Birmingham, and offered him another mission. This drew from Mr. McDonnell a torrent of abuse. He demanded to know the reason of the "peremptory sentence of expulsion from Birmingham" passed against him, adding, "your letters are the letters of a master in regard to his slave, or of an owner in regard to a head of

[1] See i., p. 187.

[2] The originals of the letters written by Rev. T. McDonnell at this time are at the English College at Rome, where they were no doubt brought when the case was before the Holy See. The most important of them were printed in a series of pamphlets which Mr. McDonnell issued to justify his conduct. The originals of the answers of the Bishops, together with Mr. McDonnell's copies of his own letters, are among the *Clifton Archives*.

cattle or a ninepin, and are very far from those of a bishop to a priest of nearly fifty years of age, and of twenty-one years' labour on the mission". In another letter he spoke of the Bishop's "restless, implacable though unintelligible hatred" of him ; and more of the same quality. He refused the offer of going to Northampton, and asked for an "Exeat" from the District. Again, however, his congregation petitioned against his removal, and again the Bishop gave way. Mr. McDonnell remained in Birmingham and continued to criticise the new church at every stage of its progress.

The Cathedral of St. Chad was perhaps the most prominent of Pugin's early churches. Its special feature was its height, which he always looked upon as symbolical of the Resurrection, and characteristically Christian. Outside, except for the façade on Bath Street, it is plain enough, lack of funds having prevented any great elaboration of structure ; but the interior is full of rich ornamentation. Owing to the hilly nature of the site, a large amount of money had to be sunk in the foundations. This produced indeed a devotional crypt, which is still used ; but it ran into so much money that had it not been for the munificence of the Earl of Shrewsbury—who subscribed £2,000—the church could never have been built. Some anxiety was felt when Dr. Wiseman took up his permanent residence in the District, and raised the question—which was soon to become a burning one between the Goths and anti-Goths—whether a rood-screen was a suitable adjunct for modern worship. The large number of them that had been demolished throughout Europe during the previous century suggested the question as at least a practical one, while Dr. Wiseman, with his Roman ideals and traditions, was by nature averse to any arrangement which interposed a barrier between the people and the altar, or which caused the tabernacle containing the Blessed Sacrament to be otherwise than the most prominent feature of the Church. As soon, however, as he learnt that Pugin looked upon the screen as essential, Dr. Wiseman was too large minded to let his own tastes stand in the way, and the work was allowed to proceed without further question. The solemn opening was fixed for the month of June, 1841, and preparations were made to carry out the ceremonies with great solemnity.

The occasion was made the more memorable by the discovery of the relics of St. Chad, under somewhat remarkable circumstances. The story of their rescue from the Cathedral at Lichfield at the time of the Reformation and their preservation in Catholic hands is a somewhat complicated one, but it is fully substantiated at every stage by original documents copied by Alban Butler, kept at Oscott. Eventually, in the eighteenth century, the relics were in the possession of Mr. Fitzherbert of Swynnerton, and kept in his Chapel. At the time of which we are now writing, however, they had disappeared. No trace of them was to be found, nor any tradition as to what had become of them. Dr. Kirk of Lichfield had made a careful search some years before, but without result.

In the year 1837, however, the Rev. Benjamin Hulme, the missioner at Aston Hall, near Stone, discovered accidentally under the altar a large chest, containing a decorated casket, which turned out to be full of relics. A document was also there describing them, the chief collection being four large bones[1] of St. Chad. Then it was remembered that in 1790 Mr. Fitzherbert had let Swynnerton to a Protestant, and had lived for a time at Aston Hall, and this explained the mystery. He had taken the relics with him, and omitted to bring them back.

When it became known that the relics of St. Chad had been discovered, it was naturally suggested that they should be transferred to the new Cathedral; and when the time for the opening drew near, every one realised that it would greatly enhance the ceremonies if the solemn enshrinement of the relics could be included among them. For this it would be necessary to produce an authoritative proof of their authenticity. Without loss of time, therefore, Bishops Walsh and Wiseman went to Aston to investigate the matter on the spot. The result of their investigation was then sent to Rome for confirmation. The conclusion the Bishops came to was that having examined the original documents, no doubt remained in their minds of the genuineness of the relics. Pope Gregory XVI. confirmed this decision, and authorised their being exposed for veneration.

[1] The left *femur*, the two *tibiæ*, and a portion of the *humerus*: see *History of St. Chad's Cathedral*, pp. 106 *seq.*, where a full account of the relics and their discovery is given.

St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham

All things being ready, arrangements were made for the solemn opening. The ceremonies were modelled on mediaeval ideals after Pugin's own heart. They took place in the week beginning on Sunday, June 20, 1841. On the previous day, Saturday, the 19th, the Catholics of Birmingham kept a voluntary fast. On the Sunday, the relics of St. Chad were brought over from Oscott, and put in a rich shrine before the Lady Altar, where vigil was kept all night by the members of the Gild of St. Chad. On the Monday the consecration of the church took place, the officiant being Bishop Walsh. In accordance with the ritual, the church was kept empty during the first part of the service, and crowds of people—many of them Protestants—gathered around the outside while the usual rite of anointing the walls took place. Standing on the threshold, the Bishop addressed the people, and exhorted them to give of their means for the support of religion, when Mr. John Hardman read from an illuminated parchment which for its quaint mediaevalism is worth quoting in full :—

"In the name of the Holy and undivided Trinity, amen. We the Catholics of Birmingham, mindful of God's mercy towards us, and trusting to share His bounty for the time to come, do by these presents make a free and voluntary surrender of all we have hitherto given towards the erection and advancement of the Cathedral about to be consecrated to-day."

This dedication having been read, the ceremony was permitted to proceed. After the completion of the outside anointings, and the similar ceremonies within, the relics of St. Chad were enshrined under the High Altar, and High Mass was begun, the people being then allowed to enter. Throughout the Mass all the music was plain Gregorian. The whole ceremony must have gladdened Pugin's heart with its mediaevalism, no less than it did Dr. Wiseman with his love of elaborate liturgy. Needless to say no function like it had taken place in England for centuries.

But the most imposing ceremony was yet to come. On the Tuesday the people had a partial rest, the day being devoted to the consecration of the side altars; Wednesday, June 23, was fixed for the culminating function—the solemn opening of the church. Dr. Walsh sang the Mass; Dr. Wiseman

preached, and no less than thirteen Bishops were present, including two from Scotland, one from the United States, and one (Dr. Polding) from Australia. Such a meeting could not fail to be beneficial to the cause of religion: yet it was nearly marred by the revival of the dispute about the legality of Gothic vestments, which was destined to loom large in Catholic affairs a few years later. For when answering the invitation to be present Dr. Baines (who had just returned from Rome) raised the question in definite form. He had once before refused to assist at the opening of a church—that at Uttoxeter—when on arriving there he learnt that Gothic vestments were to be used; and on the present occasion he thought it better to come to an understanding beforehand.

In his letter to Dr. Walsh on May 26, 1841, he wrote as follows:—[1]

"It is my full intention to accept your Lordship's obliging invitation to the consecration of the Cathedral of St. Chad. I hope there will not be any contest about the shape of the vestments. I heard a report from Rome that Propaganda had authorised the width of 3 ft. 6 in. for the chasuble. I inquired there if this was the fact, and was assured at Propaganda that no such authorisation had been given, nor any sanction whatever for a departure from the usual form and size of the sacred vestments. I do not think any Bishop would be fastidious or feel objection to a small deviation which did not seem to alter the character of the vestments; but I *know* that objections would be felt if the vestments appeared to be strikingly different from those in common use, and a fear that some public scandal might be the result. I approve entirely of a distinction which was made by Dr. Wiseman when I was last at Oscott, *viz.* that as a coat may have different dimensions and form, yet still remain indisputably a coat, so may a chasuble; but that if the change is so great as to make the coat look like some other garment, *e.g.* a cloak, or that of a chasuble like a cope or other garment, the change of the latter is not justifiable.

"I mention this to your Lordship in strict confidence, and with an anxious wish that all should go on in the most friendly and edifying manner. It is an important occasion,

[1] *Birmingham Archives* (Begbroke).

and may do much good if unanimity and kind feeling is found to prevail amongst us, which God grant may be the case."

The matter of the vestments was practically settled by the Earl of Shrewsbury's cloth-of-gold set being used. In the event the greatest unity of spirit prevailed, and the occasion was long looked back upon as the most important day in the Catholic revival. All the Bishops who had been expected were present, as well as over one hundred and fifty of the clergy—for those days a very large number. As a concession to public taste, the severe style of music was set aside in favour of a Mass by Haydn. All the leading Catholics of the day, from the Earl of Shrewsbury downwards, were present. At the dinner afterwards Lord Camoys presided, and the number and length of the speeches can be gathered from the fact that the dinner began at three o'clock and the company did not separate until after nine.

Pugin's feelings can be imagined. He had toiled night and day during the last week of the preparations, and the solemnity of the occasion had far outshone his most hopeful anticipations. It was recognised on all sides that the enthusiasm of the day was due to his inspiration and to his energy. We can enter into his feelings when Dr. Wiseman expressed the thanks of Catholic England for his noble exertions, and when the whole company rose to drink his health; and we can sympathise with the great mediaeval architect, when, in replying, after in a few broken sentences thanking the assembly, and asking their prayers for him, his voice refused to utter more, and sinking down on his chair he burst into tears.

There was unfortunately one jarring note in the day's proceedings. The Rev. Thomas McDonnell continued unable to reconcile himself to what was taking place, and showed special resentment against Dr. Wiseman whom he described as "this 'celebrated' personage, this polyglot prelate, this acquaintance of the learned". He did all he could to mar the opening ceremonies. First he organised a bazaar for the benefit of his mission, and fixed it for that very week, so as to draw off many of the visitors. On being peremptorily commanded by Bishop Wiseman to change the date, he submitted, but, as before, he refused to assist at any of the ceremonies.

In the middle of the lunch at the Town Hall, however, he suddenly appeared and tried to make a scene, but happily without success.

The inevitable sequel to this conduct was that Mr. McDonnell was removed from Birmingham, and asking for an "Exeat," he migrated to another diocese. For a while he gave trouble by remaining in his house in Birmingham and claiming compensation for improvements to it and to the mission, which he had carried out from his own resources, and which he estimated at a high figure. A long and—on his side—acrimonious correspondence ensued between him and Dr. Wiseman, on behalf of Dr. Walsh. Eventually an arbitration was agreed to, the Bishop nominating Rev. William Foley, then of old Oscott, as his representative, and Mr. McDonnell nominating Rev. John Sheehan, a parish priest from Waterford. The award was almost entirely in favour of the Bishop, as we learn from the following remarkable document:—[1]

"TOR, *August* 3, 1842.

"A sum of £2,000 having been justly due to me, received from the Rt. Rev. Dr. Walsh the sum of two hundred pounds in lieu thereof.

"T. M. MCDONNELL."

Mr. McDonnell had some difficulty in finding a Bishop to accept him; in the end he settled in the District of Dr. Baines who appointed him chaplain at Tor Abbey, near Torquay. Here he used his leisure to write a series of pamphlets describing his wrongs. They were full of virulent abuse, especially aimed against Dr. Wiseman, whom he openly attacked not only in England, but later on also in Rome. He even declared that Dr. Wiseman had once said that he ought to be a Bishop, and it was only that Bishop's hatred of him which prevented his elevation. His action however had the effect—not unusual in such cases—of rallying the clergy round their Bishops, and in reality strengthened Dr. Wiseman's position even among those who had previously been disaffected. This we see from the following resolution passed by the clergy of Birmingham and the neighbourhood, who then as now

[1] The amount awarded by the arbitrators was £250; but there was a set-off of £50 due from Mr. McDonnell to the Bishop.

were accustomed to meet periodically at Oscott for the discussion of theological cases, on September 14, 1841, while Mr. McDonnell was still living in the house attached to St. Peter's Church. The Resolution was drawn up by the Rev. George Spencer, and ran as follows:—

"The clergy of St. Mary's Conference on the 14th of September, considering the circumstances of the mission of St. Peter's, Birmingham, unanimously agree in expressing their deep regret at the line of conduct which the Rev. Mr. McDonnell is pursuing, and their disapprobation of it; and they declare their devoted attachment to their Bishop, the Right Rev. Dr. Walsh, and their firm determination to support him in the exercise of his episcopal authority."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE REGULAR CLERGY.

THE division of England into eight Districts or dioceses in 1840 was accompanied by a development of the work of the Regular clergy without which the Church could not have assumed its normal position in this country. For the work of the Regular clergy is an essential part of the full life of the Church, not as superseding, but as supplementing that of the Seculars. With the responsibilities of all ecclesiastical affairs on their hands, the overworked parochial clergy stand in continual need of assistance; and there are certain works, such as giving Missions or Retreats, or conducting houses of education, for which members of a particular religious order are set apart and specially trained; and these they undertake in particular cases so far as their numbers and circumstances allow, though the final responsibility for all work not otherwise provided for rests with the Seculars, whatever their number or circumstances.

Hitherto indeed there had been numerous members of the older and better-known religious orders in England, but they were for the most part not living in their monasteries, but doing the ordinary work of "chaplains" or missioners in isolated places about the country, and leading a life similar to that of their Secular brethren. Thus there were missions or chaplaincies served by Benedictines or Jesuits or Franciscans, and in each case the missioner lived outwardly as a Secular priest, for the traditions of the Penal Laws still practically governed the conditions of Catholic life. It is true that since the Revolution the religious houses on the Continent had been re-established in England—at Downside, Stonyhurst, Ampleforth and elsewhere; but only a small proportion of the religious ever lived within their walls after their profession

and ordination, and even those who did were not able to keep the full rule. The religious habit was never worn, and other dispensations had to be granted on account of the Protestant surroundings. And anything in the nature of public Missions or Retreats in the town churches was unknown.

The time we are now engaged upon saw the reintroduction of several important features of monastic life. The new Community of Cistercians at Mount St. Bernard's began by openly wearing the religious habit, and their example was followed soon afterwards by the Benedictines and others within their own monasteries. Dr. Ullathorne tells us that he himself, though a monk of Downside, never saw the Benedictine habit until he went to Rome; but when, after his missionary work in Australia, he settled down at Coventry in 1841, he himself wore it in his own house.[1]

But a much more important development was the institution of regular Missions and Retreats at large centres up and down the country, with which the names of Father Gentili, Father Dominic and others have so long been associated in our minds. The movement for these came from abroad, and the work was done chiefly by the introduction of some of the modern Congregations into England. Once the practice had been started, it developed rapidly. Within a few years Missions and Retreats were being given regularly by four different Congregations or Orders—the Fathers of Charity, the Passionists, the Redemptorists, and the Jesuits.

The fact that the movement was initiated from abroad had an important effect on the English Catholics by opening up to them new ideas and methods, thus tending to rescue them from the narrow groove in which they were running. It taught them the true meaning of Emancipation. Men such as Dr. Gentili and Father Dominic, indeed, had also many lessons to learn from the persevering and unostentatious work of the English missionary clergy, as they themselves afterwards testified, but no one will deny that the English clergy had also much to learn from the new missioners. If we think of the average life of an English priest as it existed then, that he was usually isolated from any of his brother-

[1] The wearing of the Benedictine habit was introduced at Downside in 1846. From 1850 they also wore the cowl in choir.

clergy, externally living and dressing as a layman, and rarely if ever in contact with any liturgical service beyond his own Low Mass, ministering in a chapel, or sometimes the room of a house, with nothing but the barest essentials of Catholic worship, a single altar, no statue of the Blessed Virgin or Saints, the Blessed Sacrament put away in the safe in the Sacristy or in his own house, in many cases no confessional nor even a baptismal font, we cannot be surprised that they were wanting in warmth of devotion, or in that which is often somewhat vaguely described as the ecclesiastical spirit. Such want as existed was most effectually remedied by contact with a spirit of living faith and enthusiasm which only comes in its fulness from an upbringing in a Catholic country.

Another effect of the new movement, perhaps an even more far-reaching one, was the establishment of better relations between the Secular and Regular clergy. Hitherto, when both bodies of men were engaged in similar work, there was every opportunity for friction to assert itself. Comparison between mission and mission was continually made, and as the Regulars could limit the work they undertook according to the number of priests who were available, they were usually able to man their own missions more satisfactorily than the Seculars, and in consequence they were often more esteemed. Moreover, each religious order had its own representatives in Rome to watch over the interests of its members, and the Regulars stood higher in the esteem of ecclesiastical authorities than their brethren. We have seen how the Seculars felt aggrieved at this, not forgetting that many of the poorest missions were in their hands, and that as a body, they lived in surroundings of extreme poverty and hard work. Thus the unfortunate tradition of rivalry between the two bodies, the result of the sad disputes of the past, continued to assert itself.

As soon, however, as the Regulars took up work such as giving Missions or Retreats, which was outside the ordinary beat of the Secular clergy, those who had been most ill-affected towards the Regulars were among the first to be glad to profit by the new activities; and the intercourse which ensued between the two bodies soon began to dispel the mutual mis-

trust which had existed, and laid the foundation of the better understanding which exists to-day.[1]

Dr. Gentili returned to England a few months before the arrival of Dr. Wiseman. He came with leave of Rosmini, at the invitation of Mr. Lisle Phillipps, and took up his residence for the time at Grace Dieu. Using this as a centre, he hoped to convert many in the neighbouring towns and villages. His reception was of a mixed character. At first he was ridiculed for his broken English, but when his evident zeal and earnestness drew many to listen to him, the ridicule gave place to open opposition on the part of the local clergymen and others. He insisted on going everywhere dressed in his religious habit—a custom quite at variance with the traditions of the old Catholics—and the people of the neighbourhood, who had never seen such a dress except in pictures, at first laughed at him; afterwards they became derisive and before long the rougher element of the community took to pelting him with mud and dirt. On one occasion they became so violent that they dressed up a lay figure in imitation of him, and having set fire to it, threw it into the river. Nothing daunted, Dr. Gentili went quietly on, taking no notice of his opponents, even making excuses for their conduct on the plea of want of knowledge. In the end he acquired an influence in the neighbourhood and received quite a number into the Church. And the other Fathers of Charity having been recalled from Prior Park, they opened a house at Loughborough, eight miles from Grace Dieu.

Quite a small sensation was caused when two clergymen came to Grace Dieu to see Dr. Gentili—Rev. Alfred Wackerbarth and another—and after inducing them to make a Retreat under his direction, he received them both into the Church. The occasion was quite a noteworthy one when Dr. Wiseman came over from Oscott and administered the sacrament of Confirmation to the two neophytes.

Within six months of the arrival of Dr. Gentili, the other great missionary whose name is still recollected—Father

[1] It is, of course, not meant that the Secular clergy *never* give Missions or Retreats, but it is somewhat exceptional for them to be able to find time to do so; and ordinarily they are glad to avail themselves of the services of those who have more time and opportunity to prepare themselves for this special work,

Dominic, the Passionist—also came to England. His first visit, however, was premature, and caused some embarrassment. Dr. Wiseman had indeed long wished to see the Passionists established in England, and this was naturally one of the first schemes which he discussed with Dr. Walsh after his arrival. Together they fixed on Aston Hall, near Stone, as fitted to receive them, partly because being an old mission, it had a small endowment attached to it. Such a plan, however, necessarily takes time to arrange, but Father Dominic, who was then superior of a house in Belgium, on hearing of the proposition, with characteristic impetuosity, made up his mind to visit England at the earliest possible date, as soon as he could free himself from his other engagements. Towards the end of October he was giving a mission at Boulogne, and he determined to cross the Channel from there. It was evident to his friends that a visit from him then would be ill-timed, and the Rev. George Spencer endeavoured to dissuade him from coming, but without success. The result was a series of disappointments which would have permanently discouraged any one with less true zeal than he had for the salvation of souls. In the first place he found the country far more Protestant than he had any idea of. He happened to land at Folkestone on November 5. In those days the Guy Fawkes' celebrations were more general and more distinctly anti-Catholic than they are now; and he met with them in every village and town through which he passed on his journey to London, at which he seems to have been keenly depressed. On the following day he set out for Oscott; but the time was not ripe for his visit, for Dr. Wiseman had hardly had time to settle himself in his new surroundings. When Father Dominic arrived therefore he met with a rather cold reception. Moreover, he was disappointed—as Dr. Gentili had been on his first arrival at Prior Park—at the spirit which he found among the priests and students. He had pictured to himself a community fired with zeal and hope for the conversion of England; he found priests who were doing their daily work indeed conscientiously, but with no particular outlook on the future, wholly uninterested indeed in a subject which seemed to them so unpractical as the conversion of England; while the students and boys were more impressed with the oddity of his

Father Dominic, C.P.

appearance and his broken English than they were with his zeal. The attitude of the average English boy towards any foreigner is familiar enough to us; it came as a surprise to him. He was dressed in a style of clothing to which he was manifestly unaccustomed; his coat did not fit, and he appeared uncomfortable and ungainly. In conversation the students did not take him seriously, and he drew the conclusion that religion was but a small factor in their lives. After a short stay at Oscott, he returned to Belgium disappointed and disillusioned; and it is perhaps the highest tribute which can be paid to his sanctity that he did not abandon his hopes for the future, and still continued to look forward to the day when he might begin his regular work in England.

That day was destined to come within a twelvemonth. In August, 1841, Dr. Wiseman and Dr. Walsh visited Belgium, and the time being now in their opinion ripe, a meeting was arranged, and preliminary measures decided upon. The following month saw Father Dominic once more at Oscott, awaiting the final arrangements by which Aston Hall was to be handed over to his Congregation. This was effected in February, 1842, when he took possession of the house, together with one companion, Father Amadeus, an Irishman, who had lived most of his life in Italy. Two postulants joined him, making up the number four, requisite for keeping the full rule.

Father Dominic's early experiences were not unlike those of Dr. Gentili. He also insisted on walking abroad in his habit and sandals, at first causing ridicule, which was increased when the people heard his broken English in his prayers and sermons in the church. Soon, however, his earnestness worked its way into the hearts of the people, and he not only reclaimed many lapsed Catholics, but also made converts. After a few months he hired the Crown Inn at Stone for Mass on Sundays, and began the mission which in our own days has developed into a flourishing Catholic congregation. He eventually built a small school-chapel, which is still standing, though now it is only an oratory in the middle of the garden of the large convent of Dominican nuns, who have built a fine Gothic Church.

Soon after the arrival of the Passionists, another of the

modern Religious Congregations—that of the Redemptorists —was also established in England. The initiative in this instance was due to Bishop Baines. On his way back from Rome in 1841 he passed through Belgium, when he called upon Father de Held, the provincial, and consulted him on the possibility of an establishment of the Congregation in England. Apparently the first idea was that the Fathers should assist in the work of teaching at Prior Park, to replace the Fathers of Charity, who were about to leave, and Father de Held visited the College during the summer. He also visited Scotland; but nothing was fixed at the time. Two years later, however, arrangements were completed for establishing a house in Bishop Baines's District, and in June, 1843, two Fathers, with a lay brother, arrived. They began their work at Falmouth, but afterwards moved to Blackmore Park. Through their instrumentality also a house of the Sisters of Notre Dame was opened at Penrhyn.

At the commencement the Redemptorist Fathers were not sufficiently numerous to undertake the preaching of Retreats or Missions about the country. That class of work was begun almost simultaneously by Dr. Gentili and Father Dominic, both of whom we find in the year 1844 giving Retreats to the clergy and to religious houses. These were of a more systematic nature than had hitherto been customary in England. In previous years it had been usual for those making the exercises to use a standard spiritual book, with perhaps a single sermon during the day by the Bishop, or some senior priest who was attending the Retreat. This was now replaced by a regular set of discourses and conferences by the Fathers giving the Retreat; and the adjuncts traditional in Italy of darkening the room when meditating on the Four Last Things and similar customs were introduced.

After a while Dr. Gentili was released from all obligations at Loughborough, in order to give his time exclusively to the work of Retreats and parochial Missions. It was then that he began that remarkable series of missions, usually in conjunction with Father Furlong, which although they lasted in all less than four years before they were brought to a conclusion by his untimely death, nevertheless produced such results that his name has remained famous amongst us down to the present day.

Their success indeed surpassed all expectations. Wherever the missionaries went they created enthusiasm and stirred up devotion in a manner wholly unknown in England before. Dr. Gentili visited most of the large centres of population in the North—Manchester, Sheffield, Newcastle, Leeds, Hull, Birmingham, and many others. The following account, in a letter to the *Tablet*, gives a vivid idea of the activity and work of those times, and the results achieved. The mission described was at Leeds, in the Lent of 1845, and was one of the first of the larger ones given by Dr. Gentili. The writer, a member of the congregation, describes it in the following terms:—[1]

"The mission had been announced and its object explained to the Leeds Catholics a month before it took place, and its benefits were again further unfolded in an impressive sermon by the good Bishop of the District, the Right Rev. Dr. Briggs, on the Sunday of the opening of the mission—the First Sunday of Lent. A crowded congregation assembled in the evening at St. Anne's Church, to learn the terms of the sacred embassy brought by the anxiously expected missionaries, Dr. Gentili and the Rev. F. Furlong, nor were they disappointed. The earnest and fervid eloquence of the preachers, their bold and withering castigation of vice in every rank of life, the charms in which they set forth the beauty and lustre of virtue, insisting upon the life of Christ as the indispensable rule of every Christian, all engaged for them a breathless attention, and caused such a feverish emotion in every breast, from a sense of their vast shortcomings, that the interest never seemed to abate during the whole succeeding fortnight. It certainly was a cheering spectacle to behold a church of spacious dimensions filled to the very threshold night after night by a dense mass of people, who listened with the most intense interest to the thrilling truths of religion, as they came clothed with fire from the burning lips of these zealous and energetic men, piercing as they did every hidden corner of the heart, and subduing the stubborn spirit of the most obstinate sinner. Scarcely was there a single listener, man or woman, who did not feel himself borne as it were irresistibly into the stream of penitents hastening to the con-

[1] *Tablet*, March 1, 1845, p. 133.

fessionals, and though it was usual to wait eight or ten hours before they could reach the feet of the priest, they were well content to submit to such a trifling inconvenience in order to disencumber their consciences of what they now felt to be a heavy and insupportable burden. The different confessionals, always four, sometimes six, were thronged from six o'clock in the morning until twelve at night. . . . The mission had continued eight days, when a fresh attraction was given to it by the commencement of the Forty Hours' Devotion. The Blessed Sacrament was exposed on three successive days, and a part of a fourth, to complete the fortieth hour. During the whole of this period it was evident what effect the mission had produced, by the multitude of adorers flowing into the church the whole of the day, and thus almost reminding us of the beautiful scenes in a Belgian church on the days of her greatest festivals. I should trespass too long on your time by detailing the procession of the Blessed Sacrament which took place on each day of the Exposition. It is sufficient to say that this solemn and beautiful ceremony was much heightened by the presence of our pious and amiable Bishop, who had been the principal promoter of the mission, and who took a most lively interest in everything that could contribute to its success."

During the same period Father Dominic was also at work. He too visited many of the centres of population, up and down the country, to give Missions and Retreats, with remarkable results. His usual companion was one Father Gaudentius, an Italian by birth, who is said to have learned English with great rapidity though by no means accurately. Wherever they went the same consoling results ensued.

When Dr. Gentili was at the height of his reputation in the Provinces, he also came to London. The London District was changing less rapidly than some of the Northern centres of population. Its limits had hardly been altered by the creation of the new Districts, and things went on much as before. Dr. Griffiths with all his conservatism appreciated the zeal and fervour of Dr. Gentili, and was glad to avail himself of his services. In 1845 he asked him to give the Clergy Retreat, and he also gave him every facility to preach his missions at Chelsea, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and elsewhere. The first

of these he introduced by a special pastoral written and circulated beforehand.

But although Dr. Griffiths gave the requisite facilities, and approved in general of the missions, he and Dr. Gentili were not kindred spirits, and never understood each other. The following letter of the Bishop is worth quoting as illustrating the unconscious damping spirit which he almost naturally applied to any work at all off the beaten track. He wrote to Father Gentili as follows :—

"GOLDEN SQUARE, *February* 19, 1847.

"MY DEAR DR. GENTILI,

"Apprehending from your kind letter received this morning that I may not have the pleasure of seeing you before you commence your meritorious labours in the mission at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and being anxious to remove some little obstacles which I apprehend may be prejudicial to the edifying results of your pious and truly exemplary labours, I adopt this secure manner of communicating them to you in strict confidence and secrecy.

"It has been observed to me, and the same idea has likewise occurred to my mind when listening to your admirable instructions, that you contrast your own instructions on morality with those of the ordinary pastors of the place, as if you were delivering something which it is unusual for the faithful to hear. And in some of your instructions it has been mentioned to me that you have spoken in a disparaging manner of the intelligence and zeal, but more particularly of the want of due preparation in the Secular clergy for conducting the faithful in the principles of a pious life. It is superfluous for me to add that such an idea, whether well or ill founded, is injurious both to the pastors and to the people, and calculated to diminish the effects of your apostolic labours. . . .

"Allow me to add, my dear Dr. Gentili, that if your instructions were curtailed in length, they would produce much more good. Many persons have been prevented from attending the instructions on account of their length.

"As my great respect and affectionate veneration for you are well known, you cannot possibly mistake my feelings in writing with this openness to you.

"Wishing you and Mr. Furlong every blessing, both for yourselves and for your labours, believe me, dear Dr. Gentili,

"Yours most faithfully in Christ,

"+ THOMAS GRIFFITHS."

The Jesuits, who likewise helped in giving Missions and Retreats, had of course long been in England; but they made a great step forward at this time by establishing a regular house, with a public church, in London. This, however, was not effected without an unfortunate difference with Bishop Griffiths which has had a permanent effect on their status. As the matter was eventually carried to Rome for settlement, a short statement of the case must be given.

Up to that time there had always been one or two of the Fathers living in London, primarily as agents for Stonyhurst, but also possessing faculties for hearing Confessions which they used freely among parents of Stonyhurst boys and others. They thought, however, that the time had now come for them to exercise a larger influence, and they applied to Bishop Griffiths for permission to build a church, such permission having, as we have seen, been declared by Rome to be necessary. As the old Portuguese Chapel in South Street had recently been closed they offered to build a chapel in that neighbourhood. Dr. Griffiths, however, considered that a Jesuit church anywhere in that direction would prove a serious injury to the Warwick Street mission, and he refused to give his sanction; but in order to show that he had no objection to the Jesuits as such, he offered them a site at Hackney or one at Saffron Hill, in each of which places he had made up his mind that a new church was necessary. This, however, would not have met the object which the Jesuits had in view, which was to have a church in a central position in London where they could get together a congregation of the educated classes, and generally be in touch with men of position and standing.

They therefore appealed to Rome, trusting to their influence which was then very strong in the Eternal City. To this course of action, indeed, no exception could be taken. But before they appealed they had already purchased a site in Farm Street, Berkeley Square, and had done so against the express wish of the Bishop, a step which attracted considerable

notice. It was not until they had secured their site that they appealed to Rome for leave to build on it.

The case came up for argument in the spring of 1843. Dr. Griffiths happened to be called to Rome at that time in connection with diocesan business, and travelled there in company with Dr. Cox of St. Edmund's. After considerable discussion, the matter was referred by the Pope to a special small Commission. The most influential member of this was Cardinal Acton—who had been raised to the Roman purple during the previous year—in whom Gregory XVI. continued to repose the highest confidence. The other members were the Cardinal Prefect and Secretary of Propaganda. The smallness of the Commission was not pleasing to Dr. Griffiths, and he had already applied for a larger one: but the Pope had such confidence in Cardinal Acton's judgment and power of persuasion that he preferred to have a small Commission in which he would be practically supreme.

Before this Commission the General of the Jesuits, Father Roothaam, appeared on one side and Dr. Griffiths on the other on Thursday, March 30. It was at once manifest that the three Commissioners were all anxious to find a compromise, but Dr. Griffiths held out with characteristic pertinacity, and refused to yield a single inch. After a fruitless discussion lasting over an hour and a half, there was nothing left but to refer the matter back to his Holiness, without having come to any agreement. The Pope accordingly took the matter into his own hands and decided to allow the Jesuits to build, subject to three conditions. The first was that they were not to administer "parochial sacraments"[1] nor to have the status of a quasi-parish, such as the London churches had then acquired; secondly, they were to pay a rent of £30 a year to the Bishop, and £30 a year to the Warwick Street mission, that being the sum which that mission allowed to Westminster; and thirdly, they were to keep a missioner for any poor district that the Vicar Apostolic might name.[2] A curious additional direction

[1] *i.e.* Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, for the provision of which to every parishioner the parish priest is responsible. The Rescript, dated April 23, 1843, is among the *Westminster Archives*.

[2] These conditions were never in fact fully carried out, as before the Farm Street church was opened, Dr. Wiseman had become Bishop of the London District, and by his consent, a new agreement was entered into, under which the

was given that the number of Jesuit Confessors was never to exceed that of those formerly at the Portuguese Church.

Although this arrangement had the appearance of compromise, many persons have since doubted whether a decision even definitely against the Bishop, if in plain terms, might not have worked more satisfactorily. Cardinal Wiseman, in a well-known letter to Father Faber in 1852,[1] speaks of the result of the decision, that "we have under [the Jesuits] only a church, which by its splendour attracts and absorbs the wealth of two parishes, but maintains no schools, and contributes nothing towards the education of the poor at its very doors".

Dr. Griffiths left Rome on April 28, and arrived back in England before the end of May. The new church at Farm Street was begun the following year, the foundation-stone being laid by Father Lythgoe, S.J., on the feast of St. Ignatius, July 31, 1844; but it was not opened until five years later.

Jesuits undertook the poor mission at Westminster as their part of the contract. The stipulation that Farm Street was not to be a parish church, however—an arrangement not uncommon in the case of Jesuit churches in countries other than England—has remained in force to the present day, and all the Baptisms and Marriages belonging to the district have to take place at Warwick Street.

[1] See *Life of Wiseman*, ii., p. 116.

CHAPTER XV.

FREDERICK LUCAS AND THE *TABLET*.

ONE of the signs of the expansion of the Catholic body during the years we are considering was that they began to call for a regular organ to express their views and defend their interests. It is true that the *Orthodox Journal* was at that time appearing weekly, under the editorship of Mr. Andrews, jun.; but it did not aim at being a high class periodical, and was not intended to be read outside the Catholic body. Wishing therefore to have a medium for the authoritative exposition of their views, the Catholic leaders—at the suggestion, it is said, of Father Lythgoe, S.J., Provincial of the Jesuits—approached Mr. Frederick Lucas, whose conversion has already been alluded to, requesting him to act as editor of the newspaper which it was proposed to establish.

For such a work he had many qualifications. He was manly and straightforward, and had a winning personality, which endeared him even to those who were not in full sympathy with all his views, and regretted the continual harshness and aggressiveness of his language; for once he had made up his mind on a point, he was not afraid to denounce everyone who differed from him. Moreover, he had been brought up in traditions different from, even opposite to, the timid retirement of the hereditary Catholics, so that he might be expected to exert a counteracting influence on their over-caution. He was not indeed wanting in appreciation of the patient endurance of the rank and file of the British Catholics in the past. "With the exception of the Irish," he wrote, "the world has exhibited hardly an instance of long-enduring passive courage to be compared with that of the British Catholics. Every class has displayed this quality most admirably in the manner which its peculiar position required. There has been but one thing wanting, and that is that they should know when and

how to lay aside the defensive tactics which their former situation compelled them to adopt; when and how to take the offensive; content no longer with warding off the barbed arrow and the poisonous shaft of their cowardly and treacherous assailants, but choosing the point of attack, making the most of every vulnerable part; placing the foot forward; resolutely pressing on; deterred by no obstacles; discouraged by no absence of temporary success; if thrown to the ground, rising; if thrust back renewing the onset; calmly, resolutely, perseveringly, with steady eye, quick hand, stout heart, turning defeats into victories and doubling every success by the resolution with which it is followed up."[1]

These words show the spirit in which Frederick Lucas thought that a Catholic journal ought to be conducted, and he no doubt realised that no one from among the old Catholics was likely to adopt an attitude in any way resembling this. On being asked therefore to undertake the work himself, he soon determined to give up his prospects in the legal profession, in which he had been trained, in order to devote his life to the service of the Church, and accepted the post of editor. The only conditions he stipulated for was that suitable arrangements should be made to finance the new paper at the outset, and that he should have a free hand in editing it.

These conditions were agreed to. Messrs. Keasley, who were Catholic leather merchants, and fairly rich, undertook to find the necessary money until the paper should be self-supporting, and Lucas was duly installed as editor. He called his newspaper the *Tablet*. In order to assume full responsibility for its contents, and to be free to write as he thought best, he adopted as its motto—which was printed at the head of every issue—" My errors, if any, are my own; I have no man's proxy—Burke ". The first number appeared on May 16, 1840.

At the outset Lucas wrote with studied moderation. The paper created a good impression, and made him many friends among the Catholic body. His restraint, however, did not last long, and before the year was out he had adopted the habit of uncompromising denunciation of all those who differed from him, which was ever afterwards an unfortunate feature of the *Tablet* so long as he continued editor. It has indeed been

[1] *Tablet*, May 30, 1840, p. 33

Frederick Lucas

said that without a certain amount of strong language he would not have succeeded in making his voice heard, and the inaction of the hereditary Catholics would have prevailed. There is, however, a limit to the effectiveness of harsh language, and it may well be doubted whether he did not frequently overstep that limit, and whether a less extreme tone might not—to put it on its lowest grounds—have achieved greater results. Such words as "scoundrel," "plunderer," "rogue," "villain," "forger," and the like, do not carry conviction, nor the comparison of the acts of his opponents to those of "a common pickpocket"—a phrase he was very fond of using.

The Catholic aristocracy came in for a full share of his abuse. "We know," he wrote, "that a great deal of our language has given offence to what is called 'good society'. We heartily rejoice at it. 'Good society' owes us no gratitude, and we owe it no allegiance. On the contrary, we regard it as a corrupt heap of religious indifference, of half faith, of cowardice, of selfishness, of unmanly impotence."

In the same article, speaking of the action of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey on one occasion in the House of Commons, he says:—

"We know it is bad manners and the height of ungentlemanliness and the reverse of everything that is approved in 'good society' to inquire too curiously into the life and conversation of a rich Duke's son and heir. . . . We believe Lord Surrey to be utterly disqualified by habits and education to pronounce a rational opinion on what is and what is not consistent with the tenets and discipline of our Church. Hundreds more believe it, but are too cowardly to say it, and they will abuse us for daring to say it. Let them. We glory in their abuse."

The above is a fair specimen of the way in which Lucas was accustomed to speak of the Catholic leaders, the Earl of Shrewsbury especially. The only exception he made was in favour of Charles Langdale, for whom he had an unfeigned admiration; but later on he fell out even with him, and used language which gave offence to many of all shades of opinion.

Lucas's political opinions came into prominence in the year 1841, when the Melbourne Government, after several narrow escapes, was defeated on a vote of "no confidence,"

on June 4, by the majority of a single vote. The resignation of the Ministry followed, and at the ensuing General Election, it was commonly believed that the rule of the Whigs, which had lasted more than ten years, would come to an end, and that the Tories would return to power. Lucas looked on this as a disaster to be fought against at all hazards. This he felt on the double ground of religion and politics. He considered that the Tories were by nature the opponents of religious toleration; that Emancipation had only been extracted from them by political force; and that even then they had accompanied the measure of relief by one of tyranny, in the disfranchisement of the Forty-shilling Freeholders, against which measure their opponents had loudly protested. But in the second place, he was full of bitterness against the domination of the landlords, and the oppression to which he averred that their tenants were subjected. No terms of reproach were too strong for the landlords as a class, and if they were Catholics, that seemed in his eyes an aggravation of the offence.

With respect to the first of these contentions, Lucas had almost the whole Catholic body with him. The middle classes to a man were on the Liberal side, and they were followed as a matter of course by the working classes. The Catholic representatives in both Houses of Parliament sat and voted with the Whigs. This was the more remarkable, as so many of the influential Catholics belonged to the landlord class, the stronghold of the Tory party, and all their antecedents apart from their religion would have led them to be Tories. So strong, however, was the tradition that Catholics must be on the other side that even such a man as the Earl of Shrewsbury professed to conform to it.

"I always was, and hope I always shall be a Whig," he wrote;[1] "by which I mean an advocate for the greatest possible degree of civil liberty, and the greatest possible amount of religious toleration consistent with the institutions and condition of the country." "But," he added, "now that all the great paramount reforms are accomplished, the ground between Whig and Tory is so narrowed that they are frequently kept

[1] Second letter to Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, p. 4.

asunder by points of such nice balance that they appear to be contending for a mere distinction without a difference."

Hence his opposition to the Tories when in power was of a very limited kind. A few—but only a few—of the English Catholic landlords went further and openly proclaimed themselves Tories; and they called upon their tenants to vote on their side, as was so common in the days of open voting. One prominent instance occurred in the election of 1841, which we may give as a sample, in the case of South Lancashire, and is all the stronger because the Liberal candidate—Mr. C. Towneley—was a Catholic. Sir John Gerard, one of the leading landowners of the constituency, called upon his tenants to vote against him, in favour of Sir Francis Egerton, the Tory candidate, who was of course a Protestant. This was more than Lucas could stand. He wrote as follows:—[1]

"One of the most active and strenuous opponents of Mr. Towneley is a person said to be a Catholic, and who is called Sir John Gerard; a man of large property, of Heaven knows how much religion, endowed, his friends say, with a plentiful lack of understanding, and whose principal ambition it is, we believe, to purchase by any amount of servility the patronage and notice of his Protestant neighbours. Such being the wages for which he labours day and night, in sickness and in health, his servility to his superiors (for of course every Protestant gentleman is his superior) is matched by a corresponding harshness towards his poorer neighbours. Sir John is, in fact, generally disliked among the poor.[2] His tenants—many of whom are Catholics—he habitually and scrupulously coerces into following his shameful example of voting for the oppression of the religion he professes. . . . If this so-called Catholic baronet would not, in addition to his own dishonour, insist upon coercing his dependents into dishonour likewise, the certainty of a Liberal Catholic candidate for South Lancashire turning out a leading Tory candidate would be very considerably augmented."

These words naturally gave offence to many besides those engaged in the actual election, and some of them wrote to Mr.

[1] *Tablet*, June 26, 1841, p. 409.

[2] This statement was confidently contradicted by those who professed to have means of knowing.

Lucas to protest. He accordingly returned to the subject in the next number; but so far from retracting or apologising for anything he had said, he repeated his accusation with greater vehemence than before :—[1]

"If a man of property and influence, disregarding the rights of his dependents, has the audacity to insist upon their voting contrary to their sense of duty, he thereby commits a public crime; a mean and despicable crime. He by that act thrusts himself offensively before the public in the character of a public criminal; and he must be prepared to take all the uncomfortable consequences of publicity. If he does not like to be denounced as a criminal, he must take care to keep his hands clean from crime. . . . But when a man comes before the world whining and crying for permission to sin without incurring censure; when he goes down on his knees to mankind to ask them not to make the practice of criminality unpleasant to him, because he really finds public blame a very uncomfortable thing to bear; that therefore he had rather not be told—as a personal favour to himself—that he is offending against the laws of God and man, and that he really shall be seriously annoyed and offended if people venture to express publicly their abhorrence at his misdeeds, what can we say of such a man but that he exhibits himself in the combined character of a sinner and a simpleton, and compels people to add to the abhorrence with which they regard his crime, the contempt which is always due, and thank God is generally paid, to selfish imbecility? What a blessing it would be to society if it could only clear itself of the half-rogues; of the people who serve both God and Mammon; those who do not object to quiet crime, but have not the boldness to act publicly up to their real principles; the trimmers; the rats; the renegades; the base time-servers; the whited sepulchres; the varnished and gilded abominations of this sickly and effeminate age. . . . It would be a piece of mawkish effrontery in us to pretend for a moment that the man who through terror or any undue means extorts a vote from his neighbour is not a greater criminal and nuisance to society than the man who confines himself to picking pockets."

The result of the election was, as had been anticipated, the

[1] July 3, 1841, p. 426.

return of the Tories to power. Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister, and the Duke of Wellington leader of the House of Lords, without office. The Catholic candidates were only moderately successful. Mr. Philip Howard continued at the top of the poll in Carlisle, and Mr. C. Towneley was elected for Beverley ; and Lord Fitzalan, the son of the Earl of Surrey, continued to represent the borough of Arundel ; but the Earl of Surrey himself—who had been the first Catholic member on the passing of the Emancipation Act—lost his seat for West Sussex, as also did Mr. Edward Petre at York, and Mr. Charles Langdale at Knaresborough. In the case of the last named, it was specially unfortunate, as he had contemplated retiring, and was only induced to stand again by the influence of the Catholic body, who not only gave a banquet in his honour in London, but also made a subscription to defray his expenses, at least in part. As the time drew near, however, he found that he had no chance of being re-elected, and retired from the contest.

Although, however, the Catholics were not very successful in securing the election of their own candidates, a step forward was made in the matter of organising their votes in the manner urged by Lucas, and in some dozen constituencies the Protestant candidate, in order to secure their votes, made definite promises of support on certain Catholic questions.

Hardly was the turmoil of the election over when Lucas found himself engaged in a passage of arms with no less a person than O'Connell. In private life they were great friends, and Lucas was a warm admirer of the political work of the Liberator. But O'Connell had recently begun his agitation in favour of Repeal, and in this Lucas was unable to follow him. He urged that a return to the state of things before the Union would cripple the voting power of the Catholics of the United Kingdom, and though admitting O'Connell's contention that this would not be a just reason for refusing the Irish the political benefits they sought for, he denied the existence of these benefits, contending that it was more to Ireland's advantage to exercise a limited power at Westminster than to have their own Parliament at Dublin. When O'Connell urged the foul means by which the Union had been carried, Lucas answered that the fact that the measure had been obtained by

discreditable means was not inconsistent with its being good in itself.

While they differed on this fundamental question, however, on most matters they were in general agreement, and Lucas was so anxious that the Irish and English Catholics should continue to work together in harmony, that he abstained so far as possible from raising the question of Repeal. Quite suddenly, however, O'Connell delivered a speech in the Dublin Corn Exchange in which he denounced the English Catholics so strongly that Lucas had no alternative but to answer.

The occasion which led to the speech seems small enough. If was simply the appearance in the *Tablet* of an advertisement for a Catholic cook, with the words, "An Irish person will not suit". On this O'Connell commented as follows:—[1]

"There is an English Catholic for you! The unfortunate Irishwoman may be of a good character, she may possess integrity, and a good conduct, but all will not do—she is an Irishwoman! Now I ask, was ever national antipathy more clearly shown than in this instance? It has nothing of a religious nature about it, because the candidate for the situation must be Catholic to come within the terms of the advertisement. She must possess the first qualities in her business, but she is stained—she is an Irishwoman. Oh no, it is no stain. England, you yielded to persecution—Catholic Ireland resisted. It is no stain to be an Irishwoman, for even party's envenomed tongue, with its foulest slanders, never dared to go so far as to combine Irishwomen with anything that was derogatory to her sex. Oh it is no stain to be an Irishwoman, but an unconquerable blemish in the English mind. And are you surprised that Sir John Gerard is taken under the protection of West and Grogan, and I accused of bigotry because I arraigned that renegade on the hustings of his county, the unrelenting enemy of Ireland? But you see the debt of gratitude which he and the other English Catholics owe us will not mitigate or soften them; for what would they be but a set of paltry crawling slaves if it were not for what occurred in this room where I stand, and I will even say if it were not for the man himself? Yes sir, I pronounce it base ingratitude."

Poor Lucas could reasonably answer to the whole incident

[1] *Tablet*, July 31, 1841, p. 481.

that he was not responsible for such a phrase appearing in an obscure advertisement of his paper, and further that the *Tablet* was not the organ of the English Catholic body, as O'Connell had stated. And he smarted under the implication that Sir John Gerard, whom he had himself denounced in no measured language, was to be taken as a typical English Catholic. But he went further, and entered into a long defence of the English Catholics. The great bulk of them he said were Whigs, and added:[1] "In nine cases out of ten, we make bold to say that the Catholic voters are staunch Liberals, because Toryism is synonymous with oppression of Ireland. . . . Let Mr. O'Connell assure himself that there is a great deal of sincere affection and warm zeal for Ireland in the breasts of the English Catholics, which exaggerated reproaches will tend to damp rather than to inflame; and which if skilfully and wisely cherished, is yet capable, as it is willing, in the ensuing political struggles to do good service to the cause of oppressed Ireland."

While these controversies were going on, Lucas was called upon to confront an internal crisis in the conduct of the *Tablet* which almost caused its death. On February 2, 1841, Messrs. Keasley failed in their business and were declared bankrupt. Hence there was no longer any guarantee fund to fall back upon if the paper got into difficulties. As, however, by this time there was a good roll of subscribers, and every appearance of the venture soon becoming self-supporting, and ultimately perhaps yielding a good profit, one Mr. Cox, a member of the firm of printers responsible for bringing out the *Tablet*, decided to throw in his fortunes with the paper. He bought it in for £100, and knowing that Mr. Lucas was its life and soul, he entered into an agreement with him to give him a financial interest in the concern, and to secure his services as editor. Lucas willingly agreed, but as Mr. Cox was not a Catholic nor interested in Catholic affairs, he stipulated that in all editorial matters he was to be supreme and independent of all control.

Under these altered circumstances the paper continued; but the arrangement never worked harmoniously, and there was continual friction between the chief proprietor and the editor.

[1] *Tablet*, July 31, 1841, p. 489.

It was perhaps not unnatural that after a time Mr. Cox should begin to consider whether it would not be possible to find another editor less independent and easier to work with than Lucas. The difficulty was that he was precluded by his agreement from making any such change, and in consequence no change was made until the friction reached such a pitch that the two parted by mutual consent. This happened towards the end of February, 1842. The paper had proved a heavy financial loss, and Lucas had been called upon to pay several hundred pounds. He found fault with Mr. Cox's printing firm, and in exercise of his unfettered right in all editorial matters, which had been guaranteed him in the agreement, he gave a month's notice that he intended to employ another printer. Mr. Cox disputed his right to act in this manner, and threatened to invoke the aid of the law to establish his contention. An attempt was made to come to terms, but it failed, and Lucas announced his intention of bringing out the paper at his own expense and at his own risk. On learning this, Mr. Cox demanded the book containing the list of subscribers so that he might continue to publish the *Tablet* as before; but he was met with a difficulty that the publisher, Mr. Dismore, although technically the servant of both partners, had been engaged by Lucas and remained loyal to him. He accordingly refused to deliver up the books unless requested to do so by both of them. Under these circumstances Mr. Cox had recourse to a strange device.[1] Having procured a ladder and some housebreaking tools, he made a nocturnal expedition at two o'clock in the morning of Friday, February 25, and in company with his solicitor, Mr. Innis, and another, erected the ladder and entered the publishing office, which

[1] The following narrative of the events connected with the foundation of the *True Tablet* is curiously different from that in the *Life of Lucas* written by his intimate friend C. J. Riethmüller, who describes Lucas himself as having entered the office at night through a window, by aid of a ladder; and this statement has been copied into several modern accounts; see for example Snead Cox's *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, i., p. 182.

The account given here is taken from the sworn depositions of the witnesses in the lawsuit Dismore *v.* Innis, Cox and Agar as reported in *The Times* of April 28, 1842, with some details added from statements in the *Tablet* and *True Tablet*, so that it can hardly be otherwise than accurate. It may be added that the account given by Mr. Edward Lucas in the life which he wrote of his brother though not very full or very clear, is consistent with that given here, and not with that given by Riethmüller.

was in Bridges Street, through a window of the first floor. They found themselves in Mr. Lucas's room, the door of which was locked, and the only way to gain access to the rest of the house, was to smash the panels, and climb through, which they accordingly did. Apparently Mr. Cox had communicated with the police and informed them that the house belonged to him; for the only notice they took was to ring the door bell violently, to awake the caretaker, after which they disappeared. A strange scene followed. The caretaker, frightened well-nigh out of his life, expostulated with the housebreakers, and followed them from room to room; but he did not oppose actual force, which would indeed have been futile, as they were three to one. Eventually the housebreakers descended to the ground floor, and breaking open Mr. Dismore's private desk, found the books and papers of which they were in quest, and took them away, leaving a written receipt on the desk. They then departed.

When Mr. Lucas arrived in the morning, and heard what had happened, he was exceedingly angry. In order to defend his own papers and property, he obtained the services of several stalwart Irishmen, whom he instructed to use force if necessary. And it became in a sense necessary, for in order to uphold the legal continuity of his paper, with respect chiefly to the stamp laws then in force, Mr. Cox made a formal attempt to take possession of the premises, and only retired when physically prevented.

In the meantime, with characteristic energy, Lucas promptly hired an office hard by in Catherine Street, made arrangements with a new firm of printers, and the following morning he produced the first number of his paper. Having been threatened by Mr. Cox with legal proceedings if he continued to edit the *Tablet* without adhering to the terms of the agreement, in order to avoid any difficulty on that score, he changed the name and called his paper the *True Tablet*, which he considered put him in a safe position, though in fact it is at least open to question whether a Court of Law would not have considered even this an infringement, as a "colourable imitation".

Mr. Cox's *Tablet* also appeared on the Saturday. He dated it from the old address, with Mr. Dismore as publisher, but that was apparently only in order to secure legal continuity,

Mr. Dismore being still technically in his service; and he requested that all communications should be sent to the address of his own printing firm. In the course of a week or two he secured the services of Mr. Michael Quin, the original editor of the *Dublin Review*, to edit his paper, engaged a new publisher, and hired an office in Catherine Street, so that the rival *Tablets* were conducted a few doors away from one another. Mr. Dismore afterwards prosecuted Mr. Cox for damages in breaking into his desk and taking his papers, but failed to obtain a verdict.

A war of words was now carried on in the rival *Tablets*. Mr. Quin not only denounced Lucas in his newspaper, he also published a pamphlet containing an attack in language even more bitter. "The Catholics of England now know Mr. Lucas," the writer said, "they know him to be incompetent, dishonest, treacherous, mendacious, and blasphemous. Will they connect his name with the dissemination of Catholic opinions, the defence of Catholic rights, and the promotion of Catholic objects? No, they will not!"

He also stated in the *Tablet* that Lord Shrewsbury had become a subscriber to his paper rather than to its rival, and that his example had been followed by all the British residents in Rome, including Cardinal Acton, and also Dr. Baggs, Wiseman's successor as Rector of the English College.

Lucas retorted in a very long supplement to his issue of April 23, addressed to the Earl of Shrewsbury, whom he accused of being his open enemy. This, however, he said he preferred to the methods of others—presumably Mr. Cox—from whom he had "had to encounter an almost interminable series of artfully contrived manœuvres in which the most deliberate perfidy was attempted to be concealed under the smoothest and blandest smiles and courtesies, rendered almost apish by their revolting extravagance and insincerity". The Earl of Shrewsbury was at that time engaged in a controversy with O'Connell. In his first pamphlet he had quoted the *Tablet* as his authority for the report of O'Connell's speech, and Lucas declared that the attack was really intended to be directed against him. He reproached Lord Shrewsbury for the support he had given to what he (Lucas) called the *Protestant Tablet*, which he declared was "fraudulently" numbered in continua-

tion of the former *Tablet*, adding that "no one, not even your Lordship, can remain connected with your friend's *Protestant Tablet* without contracting a stain of infamy". Speaking of the pamphlet issued on behalf of the rival paper, he declared that it was written by a certain former contributor, for it was "too foolish, too vulgar, and too pretentious a production," and "too cringing and too ferocious to come from any other pen". He added many columns of strong language, claiming incidentally that he numbered among his patrons every one of the Vicars Apostolic of England, and the majority of those in Scotland, as well as the great bulk of the Catholic body throughout the British Isles.

In this latter assertion, Lucas was in a sense correct. O'Connell had declared in his favour, and so had Charles Langdale. Numerous meetings were held in London and through the Provinces in his support, and when that support was put to the test by his appealing for subscriptions for a guarantee fund, the amount he asked for—£1,000—was quickly obtained.

Nevertheless, though continuing to subscribe, and giving Lucas a personal support, many regretted the tone and language which he had adopted, and especially resented his attack on the Earl of Shrewsbury. Dr. Griffiths declared that he only supported the paper on personal grounds, out of respect for the editor; and in point of fact he had less sympathy than most people with the general tone of the paper. Even Dr. Wiseman, however, resented the line Lucas had adopted with respect to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and felt bound as a protest to withdraw his support altogether. He wrote a letter for publication which notwithstanding its length, is worth giving almost in full. It ran as follows:—[1]

"To Fred. Lucas, Esq.

"Dear Sir,

"I prefer addressing this letter to you personally rather than to 'the Editor of the *True Tablet*,' because you have put your own name to the document to which it refers—I allude to the Supplement of the last number of that paper. Whatever may have been my former good wishes towards you (and they were of a personal, certainly not of a political

[1] *True Tablet*, April 30, 1842, p. 154.

or public character) and towards the paper conducted by you, I feel myself now bound by every sense of duty clearly to disconnect myself with it, and to give you my reasons for this step.

"In the first place you have assumed a principle which makes it impossible for me to give your paper even the small encouragement of a subscription to it. You take it for granted that all those who have favoured you even to this extent agree with you in your opinions, and consequently are to be considered as leagued with you in your dissent from Lord Shrewsbury's views, and in support of your particular line of politics and manner of maintaining it. Acting on the same principle with regard to Lord Shrewsbury you seem to hold his Lordship responsible for whatever personalities there may have been in the *Tablet* regarding yourself, although his Lordship is a thousand miles off, merely because he is pleased to give his support to that paper. Now against this principle I must beg in the strongest manner to protest. I have avoided in any way taking part in the political questions of the day, especially such as divide Catholics, to the great detriment of a better cause. But I have more than once made known to you my strong disapprobation of the manner in which Lord Shrewsbury has been treated in your paper, and could have little anticipated that I should be personally alluded to as one of those who held by you in your contest with his Lordship, or whom he would find on his arrival in England standing in opposition to his views. My interest in the *True Tablet* was one chiefly personal to yourself, as I have observed already, arising from my esteem for you as a private friend, and so far as the paper was concerned, I looked upon it chiefly as a vehicle of Catholic intelligence which I believed to be necessary for us in our expanding and growing condition. But I can never admit that because on these grounds I wished to support you, I am to be considered either as sharing your political views, or having decided on either side in your contest with your late partner, or as having even approved of the manner in which your sentiments (even if I might coincide with them) have been illustrated or argued. In fact so far from this, upon knowing that Mr. Quin had been appointed Editor of the *Tablet*, I not only continued that paper, but

have sent an exact duplicate to it of whatever information I have sent to you. I have thus endeavoured to act impartially between you; and from the moment when I knew both papers to be under Catholic editorship, I have given my patronage (little though it may be worth) equally to both. . . .

"But in the second place, whatever may have heretofore been my feelings regarding your efforts to supply the Catholic public with a paper, a stronger duty than that of personal consideration for you has now a claim upon me, and allows me no plea for compromise. The attack upon Lord Shrewsbury in your last clashes at once with all my ideas of what is due to Catholic interest, to Christian charity or to personal character. If nobility of descent, elevation of station, unblemished virtue, unbounded charity, zeal unparalleled in this country for religion and God's worship, and equal generosity in promoting them; if in a word splendid public efforts in the Catholic cause and a most amiable and unimpeachable private character cannot shield an individual from such language as that noble Catholic has had addressed to him in your last number, I for one will be no party to the support of the paper to which it belongs. . . . As having long enjoyed the privilege of a friendly intercourse with his Lordship, and thus had the advantage of being a witness to his exemplary conduct in every department of private life, I must express a sorrowful indignation at seeing a document set forth against him by a Catholic to be circulated among his brethren in the faith, in which not only a highly disrespectful tone prevails, but in which recourse is had to language and ideas which Catholic delicacy forbids us to place before the eyes of Christ's little ones, and which would ill become the ordinary intercourse of society.

"After the publication of such a document in your paper, I feel that I have no alternative left save to withdraw from all connection, however slight, with the *True Tablet*. . . .

"I am, dear Sir,

"Yours faithfully in Christ,

"NICHOLAS, *Bishop of Melipotamus.*

"LONDON, *Feast of SS. Cletus and Marcellinus*,[1] 1842."

The dispute between the two *Tablets* soon settled itself.

[1] April 26. Dr. Wiseman always dated his letters by the ecclesiastical feast,

A circulation which was barely sufficient for one newspaper was not likely to be enough for two. The majority of the subscribers adhered to Mr. Lucas, and Mr. Cox soon found that he was losing money. As he had no interest in his paper, other than financial, he brought it to an end with the issue of July 23, 1842; but he established in its place a newspaper under the title of *The Catholic, an Ecclesiastical and Literary Journal for the Catholics of the British Empire.* He professed that his change was due to the wishes of the Catholic Bishops. "The fact that two Catholic papers exist," he wrote, "opposed to one another in interest, and by no means coinciding in political sentiments is calculated to mislead those unacquainted with the Catholic body into a belief, untrue but dangerous, that the Catholics are no longer united, no longer capable of that combined action which it was one of the objects of the Catholic Institute to ensure. It has therefore been the wish of several Catholic Bishops and many of the Catholic nobility and gentry that the unseemly exhibition to which the rivalry of the *Tablet* and the *True Tablet* has given rise should cease; and in deference to that opinion, the proprietor of the former paper has been induced to discontinue it." And in order to avoid all rivalry in the future, he declared that the new paper should be entirely unpolitical, and devote itself solely to "Ecclesiastical Intelligence, literature, science, and the fine arts; and above all to the correction of historical errors which bear against the doctrine or conduct of Catholics, and to the refutation of the numberless calumnies disseminated against Catholicity through the press".

Mr. Cox's new venture, however, succeeded no better than its predecessor, and in the issue for November 19, 1842, the proprietors announced that "as they have no feelings of ostentatious zeal or private animosity to gratify, they are not at all disposed to throw away their capital," and that the paper would cease to appear.[1]

Lucas thus remained master of the situation. At the beginning of the new year he enlarged his paper, and resumed the name of the *Tablet,* which name it has borne ever since.

[1] They announced indeed that a monthly periodical would be published under the same name, and this continued for a time; but it was an unpretending publication, and did not last very long.

CHAPTER XVI.

FREDERICK LUCAS AND THE *TABLET* (*continued*). DECLINE OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE. DEATH OF BISHOP BAINES.

As soon as Lucas had completed his arrangements for the issue of the new series of the *Tablet*, he went on a visit of some weeks to Ireland, in order to promote its circulation in that country. He was everywhere received with characteristic hospitality, and became greatly enamoured of the race whom he afterwards called "the most ill-treated, and in all essentials of heart and character, the noblest population that ever existed on the face of the earth". He was shocked to see the miserable state of the people, due to long years of British misrule, and he became a genuine convert to O'Connell's policy of Repeal, the movement for which was then at its height. Meetings were being held all over the country to demand it, and the so-called "Repeal Rent" reached several hundred pounds each week.

On his return to London, Lucas wrote in the *Tablet* in his most extreme style of the grievances of the Irish, and advocated his recently adopted policy with all the vigour of his character. But in his continual agitation, whether on behalf of the Irish or of his own countrymen, he used such harsh language that he alienated much sympathy which he would otherwise have had. He was not afraid even to criticise the pronouncements of the episcopal body in a manner which could not but grate upon Catholic ears; and which eventually drew down on him the censure of his own Bishop. Some six months after his return from Ireland, he received the following letter from Dr. Griffiths :—[1]

"*November*, 1843.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"My attention has been drawn by more than one of my episcopal brethren who complain of the uncatholic character of the paper which you edit, and consequently of my own

[1] Griffiths Letter Book (*Westminster Archives*).

conduct in not interfering with the editor. In looking over some of the papers to which my attention has been thus directed, I have been struck with the absence of Catholic feelings and Catholic principles which no doubt escaped your observation, in many of the articles and papers which have been inserted. It therefore becomes my duty, which, I discharge with the kindest feelings, to draw your attention to the fact that the present character of the *Tablet* is such that unless it be essentially changed, it will be necessary for the Bishop in the London District where it is printed, and whose spiritual subject the editor is, to make known to his flock that this paper is not to be considered Catholic in principle or in feeling.

"I may notice, my dear Sir, what has been pointed out to me, first the introduction into its columns and exposing to public and popular discussion matters of a theological, and often of a very delicate character which should be treated with great reserve, and which belong to the spiritual jurisdiction of ecclesiastical authority. Second, the disrespectful manner in which the administration and action of ecclesiastics, whether Bishops or priests, are canvassed and judged before the Protestant public and their own flocks, as though the editor to whose responsibility these articles are to be laid, instead of being a layman, were one of the episcopal order, and empowered to superintend and judge the Catholic clergy, or as though he considered the public a higher tribunal to which he might appeal against them. Third, the manner in which the most awful truths of religion are brought down into connection with questions purely political, and are handled in a way highly offensive to Christian feelings, and the most terrible denunciations which the Church would hold out against hardened and impenitent sinners, those of eternal torments, are rashly launched against political opponents. Fourth, the personal attacks, the uncharitable and violent language which it so often employs, so much at variance with the Catholic spirit of forbearance, meekness, and charity. . . .

"You will, I am confident, receive this letter in the same spirit of kindness which dictates it, and believe me always to remain, dear Sir, with every best wish,

"Your faithful servant in Christ,

"+ THOMAS GRIFFITHS."

On receipt of this letter Lucas called on the Bishop, and afterwards wrote to him promising in general terms to be careful about his language; but as he also said that he could not see how any reasonable exception could be taken to his writings in the past, it was hardly likely that he would change much in the future.

The extremes to which Lucas proceeded in his methods and language are the more regrettable in view of the great services which he undoubtedly rendered to the Catholic body in teaching them to come forth from their obscurity and claim their just rights. In effecting this he necessarily found himself sometimes at variance with the recognised Catholic leaders. Much as he regretted this fact, he was not afraid of taking up his stand and facing the consequences; and the fact that the ordinary leaders belonged for the most part to the aristocracy and landed gentry seemed to make him take special delight in opposing them. Yet there can be no doubt of what English Catholics owe him for his outspoken courage on some of these occasions. In no instance do they owe him more than in his opposition to the weak policy of the Catholic Institute in regard to the education clauses of Sir James Graham's Factory Bill, which came before Parliament during the year we are now considering. By his manly and independent action, Lucas really laid the foundation of the Catholic position on the Education question, which has been fought with such courage and persistence in modern times. A short account of the bill must accordingly be given.

On the return of the Tories to power, the first full session —that of 1842—was given to the two questions of the Corn Law and finance—the latter including the institution of the Income Tax. A Royal Commission had been sitting to report on the state of workers in mines and factories, a question which was becoming urgent with the increase of that class of population. The report revealed a state of affairs which was a disgrace to a civilised country. The over-crowding, with its incidental accompaniments, was responsible for much of the evil; but a great part was due to the employment of child labour and the consequent want of all civilising influence over the young of both sexes from their earliest years. The report led to the Factory Bill, introduced by Sir James Graham, as

Home Secretary, on March 8, 1843. A prominent feature consisted of education clauses, by which it was rendered obligatory, before any child could be employed, to produce a certificate of school attendance. In order to carry this out, grants were to be given for the provision of schools in manufacturing districts. In the then state of the country, it was perhaps natural that schools in receipt of grants should be under the control of the Church of England, and that the regular teaching of the Bible in the Authorised Version should be insisted on except in cases where the parents of a child objected, and stated the cause of their objection. This, however, was manifestly unjust to the dissenters, and a vehement opposition was aroused. Petitions against the bill were received in unprecedented numbers, and the Government accordingly postponed the consideration of the clauses until after Easter, in order to prepare drastic amendments. The clauses in their new form were brought forward on May 1. They provided for alternative teaching for dissenters or others unwilling to attend the religious classes, without any reason being stated, and in other ways reduced the inequality between churchmen and dissenters.

With respect to Catholics, it should be noted that in many of the manufacturing districts in Lancashire and elsewhere they had schools of their own, and a certificate of such school was to be accepted as adequate. This had the appearance of fairness; but on closer inspection it was soon seen that in places where they had no school of their own, the Catholics were no better off than the dissenters, while they had the additional objection to the Protestant Bible being used, as was intended, as a children's reading-book.

Nevertheless, the English Catholics were at first apparently willing to accept the bill almost as it stood. In the debate on the second reading, on March 24, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey,[1] in his maiden speech, declared that "the bill was framed in a just and fair spirit," and added that "as a Roman Catholic, he felt bound to declare it as his opinion that as long as there was a Church establishment, it must be predominant,

[1] The twelfth Duke of Norfolk died on March 16, 1842, and was succeeded by his son, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and this latter title passed to Lord Fitzalan, who had been in the House of Commons representing the borough of Arundel since 1837; but apparently his first speech was that which he made as Earl of Arundel and Surrey on the occasion under consideration.

and must also of necessity be administrative in any system of general or national education which Parliament might establish". Nevertheless, he criticised some of the details of the bill—notably the provision for using the Protestant Bible as a reading-book, and the elaborate formalities necessary before children could be allowed to absent themselves from the Protestant Church on a Sunday. He likewise pleaded for a grant of money in support of Catholic schools, many of which were, he said, "very badly circumstanced".

The attitude adopted by the Earl of Surrey was applauded by the Catholic aristocracy generally. At a special meeting of the Committee of the Catholic Institute on March 30, a vote of thanks was passed to him for his speech. At the same time various details of the bill were severely criticised, and it was proposed that petitions should be prepared to present to Parliament against it. Charles Langdale expressed his thanks publicly in a letter to the *Tablet*.[1] "If a young man, noblest among the nobles of the land, blessed with all that wealth can bestow," he wrote, "has forgotten all in order to make an appeal, even if it be in the tone of supplication, for the poor, the helpless, the abandoned Catholic child of the factory, I did, Sir, and I do thank God for having called forth such an advocate."

Lucas at once joined issue with him, and drew up a short statement of the Catholic position, exactly similar to that with which we are now so familiar, but then put forward for the first time in definite language, so that it is worth giving in full:—

"Mr. Langdale," he wrote,[2] "asks us who can doubt that it is right and just for the English Legislature to provide a national religious education according to the principles of that Establishment. Who can doubt it? We can, and deny it too. . . .

"For the Establishment out of its own funds to provide an Anglican education for its own members is right and just. For the State to supply funds out of the pockets of all sects for the religious education of all sects is just and right also. But for the State to set up schools for the education of all the people and to base those schools upon Anglican principles is

[1] April 8, 1843, p. 213. [2] In the same number of the *Tablet*, p. 210.

an iniquity, to which Lord Surrey has consented, and against which we protest with all our might."

There can be no doubt that Lucas's position was the correct one, and nothing but the long history of Catholic subservience begotten of penal laws can explain the very deferential attitude of the members of the Institute. For their principles were sound enough, but their instinct to avoid publicity made them strangely afraid of exerting even the small power they had to press them forward.

But when Lucas made his stand, he found at once that he had the Catholic body behind him. Numerous meetings were held throughout the country in support of his policy, and he received a large number of letters from Bishops, clergy, and laity, including even some members of the old Catholic aristocracy, such as, for example, Lord Clifford, who felt that the Institute had failed to show the requisite firmness. A petition was drawn out by all the Vicars Apostolic of England, another from Bishop Baines and his clergy, another from the Catholics of Bristol, and so on.

In the event matters settled themselves; for the dissenters continued as dissatisfied as ever, and petitions against the bill poured in by the hundred, until, on June 15, Sir John Graham gave notice that the education clauses of the bill would be abandoned.

But although the difficulty was for a time at an end, it was well recognised that the respite was only temporary. The whole question of elementary education was in the air, and it was certain that the subject would be resumed at no distant date. This indeed took place, and has been going on with little intermission to the present day. Thus the value of Lucas's work in forming Catholic opinion on the subject and teaching us to claim our rights openly has been a permanent one.

The question of the bill was still undecided when the annual meeting of the Institute was held on June 12. It proved to be a critical one. The want of vigour in its administration, coupled with the attacks of Frederick Lucas, had told on its members, and the Institute which had begun with such promise five short years before showed manifest signs of decline. At the previous general meeting, O'Connell—

who had been a warm supporter of it from the beginning—renewed his proposal to elect associates who should pay only one shilling a year—one-sixth of the subscription paid by members. His object of course was to reach the masses, and give them an interest in the work of the Institute, which they would feel that they were helping to support. But he also calculated that the amount of money that would be realised would be very considerable. He was convinced that the money was available, and that it was only necessary to find collectors, and that the results would be similar to those of which he had had experience in Ireland both in the case of the so-called "Catholic Rent" before the passing of Emancipation, and more recently in the "Repeal Rent".

His plan was adopted; but here, as so often before, the different circumstances of the two countries asserted themselves, and the results which O'Connell had achieved in Ireland did not ensue in the case of the Catholic Institute. In Ireland, where all the people were Catholics, it was comparatively easy to work up an *esprit de corps*, and to generate enthusiasm. In England, where the Catholics were isolated units scattered among a Protestant population, it was quite another matter; and this was the real explanation of the apparent apathy both among the leaders and among the rank and file, of which Lucas was never tired of complaining. Charles Langdale wrote in this sense in the *Tablet*, in answer to his complaints.

"I will at once acknowledge," he wrote,[1] "that the English tone is not the Irish tone, and I ask, ought it to be so? Even your warmth and zeal, Sir, cannot more than I do honour and respect the tone of Ireland. But Catholic Ireland is a nation; and that tone which when a nation speaks may be, and is noble, would in the case of our remnant of our ancient faith, barely reaching one million, . . . and scattered from the highlands of Scotland to the shores of the British Channel, be little less than ridiculous. Our effort might obtain for us something of the fate, as it surely would of the contempt of the poor swollen frog in the fable. No, Sir; moderation, mildness, meekness if you will, are all consistent with firmness and perseverance."

Thus in the case before us, in one large district in the

[1] *Tablet*, April 8, 1843, p. 213.

East-end, where an Irish priest had made his congregation a compact body, a large amount of money was collected by O'Connell's scheme, but taken as a whole it was a failure; and at the general meeting of the Institute in the following year (1843), notwithstanding success here and there, the receipts showed a falling off. Moreover, there was an air of depression about the meeting. O'Connell was not present—he was occupied in Ireland, in the very middle of his agitation for Repeal—and the number who attended was distinctly less than on former occasions. Lord Camoys presided, and opened regretting the diminution of support of the Institute, adding some remarks which were not very encouraging. Charles Langdale took up his cue and contrasted the work done by Catholics with the very much larger work achieved by the dissenters. They subscribed half a million a year, by the side of which the Catholic £1,100 seemed small indeed. He concluded in a remarkable manner by "expressing a hope that if [the Institute] were really destined to die, some institution even more calculated to serve Catholicity would arise from its ashes".

In his leading article in the *Tablet* on June 24, Lucas developed this idea. Mr. Langdale had pointed to the leakage among Catholic children due to want of Catholic education as more than counterbalancing any gain by conversions. The reports showed that the Institute had done and was continuing to do excellent work in the primary object for which it was founded —the publishing and distribution of Catholic tracts; but if a new association was to rise on its ashes, there was far more important work awaiting it, he said, which could be summed up in the words "Provision for the Catholic Poor". "We want Priests and Churches; Schoolmasters and Schoolhouses; and then a long train of benevolent institutions for supplying the needs of their bodily and human existence." The last named he admitted was the least pressing; what was really wanted was money to pay for the multiplication of Catholic churches and schools for the poor.

These words read now almost like a prophecy; for in the event the Institute rapidly declined after this until a few years later it was dissolved; and "from its ashes" arose the Society of St. Thomas and the Poor School Committee—the latter of

which still exists in its lineal descendant, the Catholic Education Council—for these very two objects. Both of them will be described in their place. We must proceed here, however, to give an account of the startling sequel to the events just mentioned.

In the next issue of the *Tablet*—on July 1—a letter appeared from Bishop Baines, warmly thanking the editor for his article. On the following day, Sunday, July 2, the Bishop sent from Prior Park a private letter to Lucas, in the course of which he wrote as follows:—

"On Tuesday is our annual exhibition of studies. On Wednesday I must preach at the opening of the new church at Bristol. On Thursday I will try and write a continuation of my last letter."

That Thursday never came for him.

The two functions at which he assisted on the last days of his life represented the realisation of his two chief ambitions. First and foremost was the College at Prior Park, the establishment of which he always considered the chief work of his life. The exhibition day there showed that, externally at least, it was in a flourishing condition. There was an enthusiasm among all, masters and students alike, which evidenced a united house and a state of prosperity.

His other ambition was to see in the diocese at least one spacious church in which the liturgy could be carried out in all its fulness and solemnity. The opening of the Church of St. Mary on the Quay at Bristol marked the fulfilment of this aspiration. With the single exception of St. Mary's, Moorfields, London itself did not possess a church to compare with it for size and splendour; while for prominence of site it was unsurpassable, standing as it did on the chief quay in the centre of the city. The church was in the Grecian style, nearly a hundred feet long by forty-two broad, with a transept of eighty feet. It had been built by the Irvingites, but they had found difficulty about raising the money, and they offered to sell it to an immediate purchaser for little more than half its value. Bishop Baines saw his opportunity, and although it was situated within a stone's throw of the existing church in Trenchard Street, he did not hesitate to recommend its purchase, which was duly carried out early in June. Prepara-

tions were at once made to fit it up as a Catholic church, and to celebrate its opening with a grand ceremony.

It was this opening that Bishop Baines attended on the day before he died. He assisted at High Mass in full pontificals, and preached one of his most eloquent sermons, lasting more than an hour. The service, which began at eleven, was not over until after two o'clock. His health had been somewhat on the decline for the past year or two, and he evidently felt the fatigue of the long ceremony, and the exertion of preaching, but he showed no alarming symptoms of any kind. After Mass he partook of a light lunch with Mr. Berkeley of Spetchley, who had come over for the occasion, and then drove back to Prior Park in company with Dr. Brindle, arriving there at five o'clock. A large company had been invited to meet him at dinner; but he was too tired to appear, and Dr. Brindle presided. During the dessert, Bishop Baines came in for a quarter of an hour. In response to the toast of his health, he replied, using these memorable words: "You will believe me, Gentlemen, when I say that I have this night met with the only earthly reward I could covet".

Another incident deserves recording, which can be given in the words of Dr. Barber, President General of the English Benedictines, in a letter to a friend:—[1]

"You will have heard that his Lordship joined his company for a short time after dinner, on the eve of his death. Our Rev. Mr. Jenkins was at the dinner. At Ampleforth and Downside we have a favourite Latin song. The words speak of the shortness of life, the unrelenting grasp of death, and its respecting no person. Mr. Jenkins was called upon to sing, and he sang that song, John, the Bishop and he alone joining, no other of the company knowing the song. One verse is 'Vita nostra brevis est, brevi finietur'. . . . These words the Bishop sang the night before he died."

The company broke up at nine o'clock. Dr. Baines had his supper brought to his room by his servant and retired to rest at ten. This was the last time that he was seen alive. The following morning his valet found him lying in his bed in his usual position, having apparently been dead some hours, for the body was quite cold. There was a bell-rope close to

[1] *Clifton Archives.*

the bed, and from the fact of his not having pulled it, the conclusion was drawn that he had died absolutely suddenly probably from a stroke of apoplexy.

The consternation which spread through the house when the news became known was beyond description, and can only be imagined by recalling the enthusiastic devotion to his person which reigned among those who were nearest to him—a fact which should never be forgotten by those who criticise his public action, and the continual difficulties and opposition which he encountered throughout his episcopate. The following circular sent out by Dr. Brindle to the clergy of the District has an evident ring of sincerity about it, and is in itself a standing disproof of Cardinal Wiseman's assertion that owing to his difficult temperament, the Bishop eventually stood alone in all his undertakings. The circular ran as follows :—

"REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,

"It is with a heart almost broken by grief that I announce to you a most awful dispensation of Divine Providence in taking from this world and from us his beloved children our beloved Bishop. This sad event took place this morning, the octave day of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, and of his own patron saint.

"His Lordship was engaged on Tuesday in attending the annual exhibition of studies. Yesterday he officiated at High Mass and delivered a most powerful discourse on the occasion of the opening of the new church of St. Mary at Bristol. The exertion we now find, alas! was more than he was equal to, though he went through the ceremonies with wonderful strength. Thus in the full exercise of his duties as head of this College, and of his functions in the Church, has it pleased Almighty God to take to Himself the Right Reverend Father in God the Bishop of Siga, and Vicar Apostolic of the Western District of England. . . .

"Believe me, rev. and dear brother,

"Yours faithfully,

"THOS. BRINDLE, D.D., V.G.

"PRIOR PARK, *Octave day of SS. Peter and Paul*, 1843."

The scene at Prior Park on the days which intervened before the funeral bore eloquent testimony to the esteem in which the deceased Bishop was held. His body was laid out

in state for two days in the great hall of the mansion house, and it was calculated that over ten thousand persons came to take a last view of it. At the funeral four Bishops attended. Dr. Griffiths sang Mass, and Dr. Morris, Dr. Gillis, and Dr. Briggs were on the sanctuary. When at the end of Mass the last-named prelate came forward and in a few plain straightforward words gave expression to the feelings in the mind of all, we are told that there was not a dry eye in the church.

From the list of Bishops present we miss, alas! the name of Dr. Wiseman, who in view of the material disagreements between himself and Dr. Baines, thought it more proper to stay away. But the disputes of Bishop Baines's episcopate have now been long forgotten, while the tradition of his work and power remains. No better proof of this could be given than the fact that in our own time, when the College at Prior Park was closed, the Benedictines of Downside claimed his body, and now he lies buried beneath a worthy tomb, in the beautiful Abbey church which has grown out of the small foundation to which in his lifetime he was regarded as the reverse of a friend.

CHAPTER XVII.

FATHER MATHEW IN ENGLAND.

It was in the summer of the same year as the events which we have been considering (1843) that Father Mathew, the Franciscan Friar, and well-known temperance preacher, came to England. He was then in his fifty-third year, and at the height of his reputation. He had—as he tells us—visited every parish in Ireland, and he consented, in reply to many solicitations, to come to this country.

In view of the state of feeling in England with regard to Catholics, it was an extraordinarily bold step for a priest to think of addressing a public meeting composed chiefly of Protestants, or to take a prominent part in a temperance procession in which men of all religions were mixed together; and there were not wanting Catholics who were apprehensive of the possible results, and urged more timid counsels. But Father Mathew had confidence in the popularity of his cause, which he thought would overcome all the forces of bigotry. He had visited Glasgow in the preceding year, and had met with an enthusiastic reception, not only from those of the Irish race to whom he first addressed himself, but also from members of temperance societies of all denominations. He was confident that a similar result would ensue in England, not only in the Northern towns such as Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds, where the Catholics were comparatively strong, and almost as many Irish were to be found as in Glasgow, but also in London and the South. His confidence proved on the whole justified: the meetings at which disturbances were made on account of his religion were comparatively few. The sight of a Catholic priest at that date controlling a large audience at a public meeting in the streets of London or elsewhere was in itself sufficiently remarkable to warrant us in devoting a chapter to an account of his visit.

Father Mathew had received letters of invitation to England from Protestants as well as Catholics, perhaps even more from the former than from the latter. His most influential supporter was Lord Stanhope, the son of the author of the celebrated *Protestation* of the English Catholics in 1789. He had written to Dr. Griffiths in the preceding year to ask him to use his influence to persuade Father Mathew to come. Dr. Griffiths, however, was somewhat nervous of the experiment. The novelty and the publicity—even obtrusiveness—which were its accompaniments were uncongenial to his mind, and he was suspicious of the value of the whole method of action. He wrote to Lord Stanhope as follows :—[1]

"London, *April* 30, 1842.

"My Lord,

"I had the honour of receiving yesterday your Lordship's communication respecting the invitation to this country of the Rev. Theobald Mathew, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society for the suppression of Intemperance. Of the pious and benevolent character of that exemplary clergyman, and of the immense benefits to his own country of which he has been the happy instrument, there can be little doubt, and were circumstances similar in this country, we might hope for similar results, and endeavour to guard against the too general condemnation of fermented liquors which some promoters of the pledge too widely adopt, on account of their frequent abuse. From observations made to me, however, by some of the Catholic clergy in London, there are obstacles here which prevent the extensive taking or observance of the pledge. The difficulty amongst the working classes of obtaining employment except through the agency of those who require a portion of the wages to be expended in drinking fermented liquors—the excessively hard labour in which the poor Irish are generally engaged—the numerous instances of those who have taken the pledge in Ireland requesting to be released from it when they are employed in London—have induced most of the Catholic clergy not to extend their endeavours beyond the prevention of intemperance in the use of fermented liquors except in those instances in which total abstinence was itself the only means of preventing other abuse.

[1] Griffiths Letter Book (*Westminster Archives*).

On the other hand some of the Catholic clergy in London have established Societies, and administered a pledge similar to that of the Rev. Theobald Mathew.

"With these different views of my clergy on the expediency of adopting the pledge, I scarcely feel myself justified in taking an active part in inviting the Apostle of Temperance to London, at least for the present, until I have had time to examine and consider more attentively its effects."

From the above it will be seen that Dr. Griffiths was not prepared to give Father Mathew any great encouragement, but he did not oppose his projected visit. The Rev. James Jauch, priest of the German Church, took the matter up and pressed Father Mathew to come; and accordingly he arranged to do so in the month of May, 1843. On learning this Lord Stanhope wrote him the following letter of welcome:—[1]

"CHEVENING, NEAR SEVENOAKS,
"*January* 26, 1843.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I was inexpressibly rejoiced to learn by your letter that you propose to visit London in May next, and I fervently hope that nothing will prevent your arrival, which will be hailed with extreme and heartfelt satisfaction by the friends of temperance, and will be of infinite importance to the cause; for I trust that Divine Providence will continue to bless and prosper your benevolent exertions in this country as well as in your native land, and that you may have the happiness of conferring their benefits on many of those who in the metropolis have fallen through intemperance into a state of destitution and of moral degradation. Your presence in this country will to myself in particular afford the greatest happiness, as I entertain for you the sincerest veneration, as I am most grateful for your inestimable services, and as I have long and ardently wished to have opportunities of conversing with you, when you will find me most anxious to profit by your instructions. But I am only a very humble follower in a great cause. If your engagements should allow it, you would oblige me extremely by honouring me with a visit at this place, which at that time of the year is in great beauty.

[1] *Life*, by Maguire, p. 177.

"Allow me again to assure you that I am, with the utmost regard and esteem, my dear Sir,

"Most faithfully yours,

"STANHOPE."

After several delays Father Mathew carried his intention into effect, and he landed at Liverpool on July 1, 1843. At that time a large teetotal gathering was about to be held at York under the auspices of the British Association for the Promotion of Temperance. The conference was to last five days—from Monday to Friday—and Father Mathew at once determined to attend it, and begin his campaign there. He was received with acclamation, and conducted in a kind of triumphal procession to his hotel. He did not indeed take part in the official proceedings of the society, but he attended the festivities with which they were accompanied. The Wednesday was the great day. Cheap trains were run from all parts, and a large procession was formed, at which he was the central figure. They proceeded through Walmgate and Fossgate and through the chief streets of the city. The novel spectacle of a Catholic priest receiving such a welcome was witnessed by Bishop Briggs, Lord Stourton, and others from a window. On arriving at St. George's Fields, Father Mathew addressed the people, and administered the pledge to many of them. In the evening there was a large meeting at which Bishop Briggs and Father Mathew were on the platform. The great majority of those present were Protestants, and a Protestant teetotal hymn was sung; but they presented an address to Father Mathew, and his reply was the speech of the evening. They also called on Bishop Briggs to address the meeting, showing their desire to sink all religious differences in the great cause of temperance.

On the conclusion of the York festival Father Mathew proceeded to Leeds, where similar scenes were enacted. He afterwards visited Bradford, Huddersfield, Wakefield, and finally Manchester and Liverpool. Wherever he went he was received with enthusiasm. The method he followed was entirely his own. In the morning he was to be found at the Catholic church of the place, where after his Mass, should there be a sufficient number of people present—as was commonly the case—he would preach a sermon on the virtue of temper-

ance, and administer the pledge to anyone who might wish to take it. He would then have his breakfast, which he was often invited to take at the house of one of the leading men of the city, usually a Protestant, or in some cases he was entertained publicly. After this, throughout the day he was accessible to all comers at his hotel, for he steadfastly refused ever to accept private hospitality, so that he might be always at the service of anyone who wanted him. In the afternoon, or at any time on Sundays, he would deliver an address in the open air, in the streets or slums of the city, or on any piece of waste ground that was to be found. It was at these meetings that he achieved his greatest successes. His hearers often amounted to several thousands, and at the conclusion a large number, many or often most of them Protestants, would take the pledge at his hands. Sometimes there was a meeting in a public hall in the evening, and on Sundays he would often preach at the evening service in the Catholic church. It was not until all possible work for the day was completely finished that he would accept invitations to dinner, so that his hosts often had to wait till nearly nine o'clock before they could sit down.

On finishing his tour in the North, Father Mathew proceeded to London, arriving there on July 28. He first called on Dr. Griffiths, who received him kindly and asked him to dinner, as a sign of good will, but he took no part in the subsequent meetings. Father Mathew's reception in the metropolis was not so uniformly enthusiastic as had been the case in the North. In a few instances he even met with opposition, and the people behaved in a riotous way, calling out against being addressed by a Catholic priest. More than once he would probably have suffered personal violence but for the protection afforded by the police, and on one occasion at least he had to be rescued by being conveyed from the back of the platform where he had been in vain trying to speak.

To those familiar with the state of public opinion on all matters in any way connected with Catholics this conduct did not cause surprise. Nevertheless, it was the exception, not the rule. In the majority of cases the extraordinary courage of the Franciscan friar in addressing a crowd most of whom were Protestants met with a sympathetic response, and in

most of his meetings the people were on his side. The Catholics were of course sometimes in evidence, especially at the meetings in the East End, the priests marshalling large processions of the Irish parishioners to attend them. Father Mathew preached first on Monday, July 31, in the new Catholic cemetery in Commercial Road, being greeted by a large procession of a gild of Catholic total abstainers, nearly all Irish. They were afterwards joined by processions of Protestant Societies, and in the end the number of persons present was computed at 30,000. Lord Stanhope came to welcome his friend, and he set the example by kneeling down —Protestant though he was—and taking the pledge from Father Mathew. Some hundreds of others followed his example, the meeting lasting all the afternoon until after eight o'clock. It was resumed in the same place the next morning and went on daily for the remainder of the week. In the following week meetings were held on Kennington Common, the Rev. Thomas Doyle of St. George's being a conspicuous figure there. Later on Father Mathew visited St. Giles's—where he preached in the mews; Blackheath—where the meeting became riotous, and he did not succeed in making himself heard; Deptford—where he spoke on a piece of waste ground opposite the railway station; Bermondsey, Stratford, Hackney —where a platform was erected in fields which were then there; Somerstown—where also he found fields; Chelsea, and many other places, ending up on September 4 in a mews adjacent to Orchard Street, Portman Square. On some of these days rain fell in considerable quantities; but Father Mathew kept to his post, and so long as he was there his hearers also remained. On each day many hundreds took the pledge, the example being set by the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk, the Hon. Stafford Jerningham, eldest son of Lord Stafford, and others. At some of the meetings speeches were made by prominent Protestants, chief among whom on several occasions was Earl Stanhope. Several dinners were also given in honour of the Apostle of Temperance, who had the opportunity of meeting such men as the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, Lord Palmerston, the Marquis of Clanricarde, etc.

On leaving London Father Mathew proceeded to Norwich,

having received a pressing invitation from Dr. Stanley, the Protestant Bishop. His reception was as enthusiastic as before, and the great St. Andrew's Hall was filled to overflowing. There was a division of opinion among the clergymen of the Established Church, and some stayed away, but many of them were there, as well as some dissenting ministers. The Bishop of Norwich attended, and in the course of his speech addressed Father Mathew in the following words :—

"Reverend Sir, and friend from another island, allow me to greet you. I meet you here not as a Roman Catholic priest, I differ from your creed, and I candidly and openly avow in your presence, and before this great assembly, that I am hostile to it. But, Reverend Sir, I meet you here in a more noble and comprehensive character—I meet you here not as a priest, but like myself as a Christian brother, upon neutral ground, where all denominations of Christians may delight to visit and unite together in a common cause."

Saying this, he solemnly crossed the platform and shook hands with Father Mathew, amidst loud applause from all parts of the hall.

The following day was spent by Father Mathew at Costessey, four miles distant, the seat of Lord Stafford. After preaching outside St. Walstan's (Catholic) church in the village, at the invitation of the priest, Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, he administered the pledge to those present. On returning to Norwich, he addressed a further meeting in St. Andrew's Hall, and afterwards dined with the Bishop at his Palace. He left by the night mail on Saturday, September 9, for Birmingham, where he arrived the following morning.

His reception at the capital of the Midlands was another triumph. On the Sunday evening he preached at St. Chad's Cathedral. On the Monday morning a public breakfast was given in his honour at which the Mayor presided, and an open air meeting was arranged in Smithfield Market, where he administered the pledge to many hundreds. In the evening there was a meeting in the Market Hall. On the Tuesday morning a public breakfast was given to him by the Catholics in the Shadwell Street school, at which Dr. Wiseman presided, and the Rev. George Spencer was present, as well as most of the leading clergy of Birmingham. After the pledge had been

administered, the Bishop, Father Spencer, and Father Mathew drove out to Oscott, where it was further given to several of the priests and other inmates of the house; but not to any students under twenty-one, that being the rule of the Temperance Society as to minors. The following day Father Mathew addressed a final meeting in Birmingham, from whence he went to Liverpool, where further meetings were held; after which, on Friday evening, September 15, at seven o'clock he embarked on his return to Ireland. He landed at Kingstown the following morning, being received by a crowd estimated at over 20,000. He expressed himself as much pleased with his visit to England, and declared that he had administered the pledge to more than 100,000 persons.

The progress of such scenes as we have been describing, up and down the country, necessarily caused some comment in the leading newspapers. On the whole the articles written were fairly sympathetic, but occasionally the no-popery bogus made its appearance. The *Morning Herald* was the chief offender in this respect. The writer of the leading article frankly avowed, "we do not like temperance taught by Popish friars". With some ingenuity he maintained that Father Mathew conducted a trade in medals—for he gave a medal to every one who took the pledge, for which those who could afford it made an offering of a shilling, but those who were poor paid nothing. The writer had the effrontery to demand the publication of an annual balance sheet, so that the subscribers might learn what Father Mathew did with the money. Lucas replied in the *Tablet* in his usual forcible style:—

"Surely a pleasant piece of impudence! The good friar sells medals, therefore a balance sheet ought to be published. The evil friar of Shoe Lane[1] sells *Heralds*, therefore a balance sheet ought to be published in his case also. The only difference between the two cases seems to be this, that the man who buys one of Father Mathew's medals gets something for his money: Heaven help one who is ass enough to give money for a *Morning Herald!*"

Later on, however, Father Mathew received a benefaction to cover the cost of the medals, and ceased to take money for them.

[1] The office of the *Morning Herald*.

Another difficulty also arose with respect to joining in a teetotal movement among Protestants. It is quite common for teetotallers to be carried away by their enthusiasm so far as to speak of the use of wine and spirits as if it was wrong in itself. In the case of Catholics, they are restrained within due limitations by the authoritative teaching of the Church. Protestants have no such limitation, and consequently they are liable to give vent to extreme views, which a Catholic cannot accept. Thus, for example, the York Conference passed the following resolution:—

"That as the use of intoxicating liquors is injurious to the health both of the body and mind, it is the opinion of this meeting that it is morally wrong or a sin against God and our neighbour to manufacture, buy, sell, or drink such liquors."

Another resolution of the same body protested against the use of wine in "the Lord's Supper". Father Mathew indeed dissociated himself from any such extreme statements, pointing out that he himself took wine every morning at the ablutions at Mass. He also said that temperance was not one of the "evangelical virtues"—a phrase which was not unnaturally misunderstood by non-Catholics, who are not acquainted with our theological technicalities. Thus the writer in *The Times* complained that Father Mathew was belittling his own work in protesting that it was not an "evangelical precept".

Frederick Lucas wrote a series of explanatory articles on the subject in the *Tablet*. "That many Protestant teetotallers are Manicheans," he wrote, "who hold wines and fermented liquors to be in themselves evil, and would persuade the ignorant and credulous that a temperate use of these things is essentially sinful, we are afraid is too true and too generally true," and he emphasised "the very obvious truth," that "teetotalism is intended for a temporary remedy of a great abuse, and not for a universal and permanent institution".

An equally important, and perhaps more practical question was also discussed in the *Tablet* as to the nature of the pledge which Father Mathew administered, and its binding force. Dr. Wiseman, in his speech at Birmingham, laid down a very definite doctrine, to which Father Mathew gave his explicit

assent. The following were the exact words, as reported in the contemporary press :— [1]

"The whole question depended on this; to whom was the promise made? A vow had ever been considered by Catholics as a solemn promise to God alone, and were the words of the pledge to involve that sacred obligation, it would unquestionably be a solemn vow; but Father Mathew did not urge a promise to Almighty God. They promised 'Society'—they promised their wives—they promised their children—they promised themselves—no longer to continue what had proved to them a dangerous and degrading practice. In Ireland the promise was understood to be made to the people, and if the party making it broke it, the people knew how to resent it. He (Dr. Wiseman) would appeal to Father Mathew if this was not the sense in which the pledge was understood?"

"Father Mathew—Precisely so."

This speech was reported also in *The Times*, and was characterised in their leading article as "Jesuitical," for it was contended that the solemnity with which the pledge was administered must make it not less than a vow. This produced a letter from Dr. Wiseman to the editor of *The Times*, in the course of which he wrote as follows :—

"You will, I trust, allow me to add a few words with reference to your leader of this morning upon the nature of the pledge. You insist it must be a vow, and you charge me with what you call 'Jesuitism' for denying it. Your grounds are that the crowds kneel, that they receive a blessing upon their engagement, that it is proposed to be kept 'with the Divine assistance,' etc. 'If such a promise,' you conclude, 'does not amount to a vow, we do not know what constitutes a vow.' To this acknowledgment I fear I must assent. I was addressing Catholics, who had no doubt been fully instructed in what is required by their Church to constitute a vow, and therefore know that no amount of external solemnity, no blessing invoked, no prayer for Divine assistance suffices to stamp on a religious action the peculiar character of a vow. . . . Among Catholics a vow is a religious act which cannot accidentally grow out of another. It is not merely a more public or a more solemn form of a promise; it does not merely

[1] *Tablet*, *Orthodox Journal*, etc.

differ from a promise in degree or intensity; but it is a religious act, involving conditions peculiar to itself, subject to a peculiar ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and imposing, if violated, special guilt."

The question of the exact meaning of the pledge as officially administered, however, did not end here. Frederick Lucas, who had been originally a strong sympathiser with the movement, contended that although Father Mathew acquiesced in Dr. Wiseman's statement that it was nothing beyond a resolution or promise to Society to abstain from intoxicating drink, in many places, especially in Ireland, the meaning was understood quite differently, and that Father Mathew never contradicted the people, and must be supposed to have acquiesced in their view, at least when administering the pledge to them. In order to put his contention to the test, Lucas wrote to a number of prominent priests in whose churches the pledge had been administered by Father Mathew, asking them to say in what sense they had understood it. The answers, which he published, showed surprising variety: he enumerated fourteen different opinions. One priest declared that to break the pledge was "universally a mortal sin, for the expiation of which a walk of a hundred miles is a light and trivial penance".[1] Another said that "it is the bounden duty of every man who would not be under the odious imputation of being a bad, base traitor to take the pledge, and that when taken, the breach of it is a thousand times more damnable than telling lies to the Holy Ghost". Others admitted that the words of the pledge were equivocal; that "they ought only to imply a resolution, but that they too often convey the notion of a vow"; and another added that "the sanctity of the pledge is guarded by peculiar temporal chastisements, and awful visible judgments of God". Another added that in his part of the country at least, if it was not a solemn vow, the people would not keep it for one hour. On the other hand, others denied that there was any sin, mortal or venial, involved in breaking the pledge, and quoted the decision of the American Bishops that it imposed "no new moral obligation". One priest from Cork went

[1] It was customary to insist on anyone who broke the pledge walking on foot to wherever Father Mathew was, in order to receive absolution from him in person. See *infra*.

out of his way to thank Lucas for having made this clear, calling the opposite view a "vile heresy".

Lucas protested that personally he had no opinion one way or the other, but he contended that the question ought to be definitely decided. He quoted Father Mathew as having told him when he himself took the pledge in Cork, that it included no vow, and did not bind under sin; but he said he had heard of priests in Ireland refusing absolution to those who had broken it, until they had walked fifty miles to obtain Father Mathew's forgiveness.

In quoting the "fourteen different opinions" it would appear that Lucas was taking the writers too literally: some allowance should be made for the rhetorical form in which the answers were given. Moreover, there is nothing contradictory in the pledge being accompanied with the special blessing of God, and its breach with His judgment, even if it is not a vow nor even strictly binding under sin; for to break it is to neglect a special grace and opportunity.

Nevertheless, it was evident that there were different ways of viewing the pledge, and on the main question of the advisability of pronouncing definitely on its meaning many were with Lucas. Father Mathew himself, however, was content to leave the question an open one. After his return to Ireland he spoke at Cork on October 16, alluding to Lucas's articles, which however he said he had not read. He proceeded as follows:—

"He would not say that the writers of those articles intended a wilful ill; but he would repeat that their labours were calculated to do the greatest possible harm, if the people suffered themselves to be led astray by their great absurdities. It altogether depended on the disposition and mind of those who took the pledge whether they engaged in a vow or not; it was entirely a matter for their own consideration, and surely inasmuch as the national character of a people was concerned, it did not matter much whether the pledge were a vow or a promise, as long as the people adhered to an engagement which had drawn them out of incalculable misery, conferred happiness on themselves and their families, elevated them in the estimation of the world, and reflected on their country every honour that it could enjoy. He was surprised that

persons with these facts before them should trouble themselves about the nature of the pledge. That pledge was taken with the assistance of the Almighty God, without whose aid no good could be performed. It was with that assistance that permanency, he trusted, would be conferred on their glorious movement, and that every blessing would wait on the footsteps of those who encouraged it by their advice and example."[1]

[1] *Cork Examiner*, 18 October, 1843 ; quoted in the *Tablet* for 4 November, 1843, p. 69.

CHAPTER XVIII.

REPEAL OF THE PENAL LAWS.

THE year after Father Mathew's visit, that is 1844, is noteworthy for the passing of the first bill for the definite repeal of the Penal Laws against Catholics. This achievement was due to the persevering industry and sheer persistence of one man —Mr. Thomas Chisholm Anstey. The present chapter will be devoted to a short account of the manner in which he succeeded in bringing about this result.

It sounds at first somewhat perplexing to hear of the repeal of the Penal Laws after Catholic Emancipation had already been in force for fifteen years; at least it calls for some explanation. The explanation, however, is in itself simple enough, and is easily found by a slight study of the various Catholic Relief Acts, including that of 1829, commonly spoken of as Emancipation. For those Acts did not proceed by the method of repeal, as they might easily have done. The old Penal Laws were left untouched; but exceptions were provided for, subject to certain conditions. Thus, for example, the Act of 1791, which was that under which most of the ecclesiastical liberties were obtained by the Catholics, did not repeal any of the Penal Acts proscribing the celebration of Mass in general, and the penalty of 200 marks for the priest who celebrated and 100 marks for each of those who assisted remained part of statute law; but it enacted that in future Mass might be celebrated in certain places, and under certain conditions. It became lawful to have it either in a church or chapel registered as such before the Clerk of the Peace, or in a private house when not more than five outsiders were present; provided in each case that the celebrating priest, as well as those who assisted, had taken a certain oath, with due formalities. At first no difficulty was made in complying with these conditions; but as time went

Thomas Chisholm Anstey

on, it became manifest to every one that they were a needless encumbrance, and in practice only a small proportion of Catholics ever took the oath, while a large number of churches or chapels remained unregistered. Thus theoretically the great majority of Catholics in 1840 were as much subject to the penal statutes as their fathers had been before the passing of any Relief Act.

It might be said indeed that some laws—as for example that commanding attendance at the Parish Church on Sundays—had in the case of Catholics been repealed by implication, and it was highly improbable that an attempt would be made to enforce such laws; but they remained on the statute book, and were theoretically enforcible. There were, however, other Penal Laws which had never been repealed even by implication, for the simple reason that they had long been obsolete; and indeed their very existence was often unknown even to those whom they most concerned. Of that nature was the law prohibiting Papists from travelling more than three miles from home—a law which in the middle of the nineteenth century, with our system of railways rapidly developing, reads positively humorous.[1] Yet theoretically it bound all Catholics, whether they had taken the oath or not. Similarly the law passed under William and Mary, prohibiting Catholics from coming within ten miles of the metropolis, or from having any weapons in their possession, was theoretically binding on the whole body; as was that by which any persons sending their children abroad to be "papistically educated" were, together with such children, disqualified from any trust, or from suing in any court. And indeed the sweeping statute passed during the reign of Elizabeth still remained by which anyone refusing to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Sovereign should forfeit all his goods and chattels, and if the offence was repeated, he should incur the penalties of *præmunire* and high treason.

Even the civil liberties granted by the Act of 1829 involved certain preliminary formalities, such as taking a prescribed form of oath; and that Act imposed new restrictions

[1] This provision was not quite so extravagant as it appears; for it was aimed against independent gentlemen, and an exception was provided, allowing Catholics to travel for purposes of trade, or of seeking employment.

on religious orders, which were definitely aimed at their eventual suppression, and which, if enforced, would have formed a real Penal Law; while a well-known clause prohibited any Catholic Bishop adopting the title of a See then occupied by a Bishop of the Establishment.[1]

To the hereditary Catholics the fact of the existence of these laws did not appeal as a serious grievance. They had so long been accustomed to being a proscribed body that they hardly even adverted to the fact, while the possibility of practising their religion openly, and having the entry to Parliament and the professions gave them all they had ever hoped for. With a convert, however, this was different. Even a man like Mr. Lucas felt the indignity of being nominally subject to such restrictions, for the laws against Quakers at their worst did not compare in severity with those against the Catholics. To Mr. Chisholm Anstey, however, it appealed with far greater force. He had been brought up as a member of the Established Church—his own conversion in 1833, and his subsequent success in effecting that of Mr. Lucas, have been alluded to in a former chapter. Now that he was a Catholic he felt keenly the indignity of being under Penal Laws for his religion.

His was a kindred spirit to that of Lucas, and his language in declaiming against grievances of all kinds was hardly less strong. For a time it appeared as though English Catholics would be deprived of his services, for in 1839 he determined to go back to Tasmania and rejoin his relations; but for various reasons he did not stop there long, and in the summer of 1841 we find him back in England, giving his old friend his active assistance in conducting the *Tablet*. During Lucas's absence in Ireland he acted as temporary Editor, and the vigour and warmth of his articles showed that he had inherited the spirit of his chief. Among the grievances against which he protested were the failure to provide Catholic chaplains for the army, the sectarian manner in which gaols, workhouses, and lunatic asylums were conducted; and the large number of Penal Laws still on the statute book.

In the meantime he was building up a large practice at the Bar, and his time was fully occupied. Nevertheless he found leisure to deliver a course of lectures at Prior Park, on

[1] See *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, iii., p. 257.

the British Constitution. Soon his legal studies brought before his notice the details of the laws against Catholics, and he published the result of his labours in a book entitled *A Guide to the Laws Affecting Roman Catholics.* The picture which his own book brought before his mind was such that he determined to devote all the time and energy he could spare from his legal duties to agitating for the repeal of the remaining Penal Laws. It was an uphill task from the beginning, owing partly to the apathy of the old Catholics themselves. Mr. Anstey had afterwards to complain that their members of Parliament could not even be induced to go to the trouble of voting for the various bills in favour of their co-religionists which came before the House. The probability is that they regretted the subject being raised at all, having their traditional fear of publicity, and feeling no doubt that an unsuccessful attempt to procure repeal would be a worse evil than no attempt at all.

Mr. Anstey accordingly approached the subject almost single-handed. Having made the acquaintance of Lord Beaumont,—whom he met while giving evidence before the Afghanistan Committee of the Colonial Society—he persuaded him to use his influence in the House of Lords in the required direction. Lord Beaumont was indeed the head of one of the oldest of the Catholic families—the Stapletons of Carlton, Yorkshire, who had only recently recovered their peerage; but he had never taken a prominent part in Catholic affairs, nor acted much in concert with the members of the Catholic Institute. At the outset, however, he saw the necessity of acting with them as far as possible. Accordingly, a deputation of Catholics was organised to wait on Sir Robert Peel, consisting of Lord Arundel and Surrey, Lord Camoys, Lord Stourton, Lord Petre, Hon. Charles Langdale, Hon. Edward Petre, and Lord Beaumont himself. Sir Robert Peel received them on March 18, 1843, and appears to have spoken to them sympathetically; but nothing came of it, and in the following session Lord Beaumont and Mr. Anstey decided to take the initiative.

A bill was accordingly prepared by Mr. Anstey, simply reciting the statutes against Catholics, and repealing them. This bill was introduced in the House of Lords by Lord

Beaumont in the month of May, 1844, and was given a second reading on July 19. This did not leave much time for discussing its provisions before the rising of Parliament; and the Lord Chancellor (Lord Lyndhurst) at first urged Lord Beaumont not to proceed with it, on the understanding that the Government would bring in a comprehensive measure in the following year. Lord Beaumont, however, wisely declined to face the political risks of a year's delay; and a compromise was come to by which all the clauses which were considered likely to prove in any way contentious were omitted, leaving only half of the bill. The curtailed measure was then adopted as his own by Lord Lyndhurst, and aided by the Government influence, he soon carried it through its remaining stages in both Houses. The only opposition was raised on the Report stage by the Bishop of London, who, though approving in general of the measure, nevertheless thought that the heads of the Anglican Church ought to be consulted as to details. He contended that no provisions which were necessary as "securities" to the Establishment should be struck out; and the only way to arrange this would be to postpone the bill to the following year, when there would be more time for its discussion. He did not, however, press his opposition to a division, and the bill passed the Lords that night. It was introduced into the Lower House on August 1; read a second time on the 5th, and the third time on the 8th. On the following day the Royal Assent was given, and the bill became law.[1]

In congratulating his co-religionists on this result, Lucas took special pleasure in pointing out that it had been achieved, not by the Catholic Institute, but by "an audacious and presumptuous individual, who dared to know more than Sir *This*, and was guilty of more enterprise and courage than Mr. or Lord *That*," together with "a certain noble Lord, who was indeed a Catholic, but in possession of considerable repute of not being overburdened with respect for his fellow-Catholics in the upper classes of Society".

During the last part of the same session, the Government brought in a bill on a subject closely connected with the Penal Laws in Ireland. This was the Charitable Bequests Act,

[1] The Act is given in full in the Catholic Directory for 1845.

which was designed to meet a long-standing grievance that in spite of the large sums of money left every year for Catholic purposes, there was no satisfactory way of bequeathing it; for some Catholic Charities were liable to be considered at law as "superstitious uses," and money left for them was liable to confiscation. The only method possible was the very insecure one of leaving it to individuals, giving them private instructions as to its application; but there was no legal guarantee that these instructions would be carried out. Moreover, there was the additional risk that if such individual were to die at the wrong moment, the legacy might either lapse or pass to his next-of-kin, according to the date of his death. A similar state of affairs reigned in England, as we saw in connection with the Blundell legacy described in a previous chapter[1]; but it was less of a grievance, as the amount of money left by Catholics was only a small fraction of the total yearly bequests.

The new Irish bill provided for a Commission to whom charitable legacies could be left to be applied to any specific purpose. In this it was merely amending an existing Irish Act which it had been impossible for Catholics to use on account of the exclusively Protestant composition of the Commission. In the new Act the Commissioners were to number ten, of whom five were to be Catholics, and five Protestants; and they were to be presided over by one of three judges, who could theoretically belong to either religion, though in fact at that time they were all Protestants.

From the Government point of view this arrangement seemed fair enough, and it was no doubt intended to be so; but it is easy to understand that the Catholics of Ireland resented the interference of any Protestants at all in legacies left by Catholics for Catholic purposes. The majority of the Bishops, most of the clergy, and nearly all the laity were opposed to the bill. O'Connell was prepared with an alternative scheme, but he was unable to take part in the discussion, owing to his imprisonment for alleged conspiracy, in connection with his repeal movement. He appealed to the House of Lords, and the judgment was reversed; but by that time the Bequest bill had been passed. In O'Connell's

[1] See Chapter XI. and Appendix J.

absence, Frederick Lucas kept up the agitation against the bill, professing to see nothing in it but an attempt "to enslave and plunder the Church".

When the Bishops met in Dublin in November, however, it soon appeared that they were not all of one mind. In the end fifteen declared themselves opposed to the bill and willing to protest against it; but eight—including Archbishop Murray—wished to accept it, and endeavour to obtain some amendments in the following session; while four others remained neutral. Hence they determined to leave the matter open, and leave each Bishop to act as he thought best. This determination was the sign for a fierce onslaught against them in the *Tablet*. In his leading article on November 23, 1844, Lucas wrote as follows:—[1]

"The minority of the Bishops have set a terrible precedent. They have adopted a frightful resolution of allying themselves with the Castle against a majority of their own brethren. . . . They have taught the laity—as much as in them lies—to despise the authority of the episcopacy; they have taught the Government to despise and vanquish it. The secret of the weakness of the Church in Ireland is now revealed and patent. It can no longer be esteemed a bulwark against authority. It is no longer in any sense of the word a Church. By the fatal Act that has been perpetrated, the goodly edifice that a short time ago reared its head so proudly to heaven has been dissolved and has vanished. There is no longer a Church of Ireland—there is nothing but a collection of bishoprics."

In the same article, referring to the *Veto* question, which was already somewhat ancient history, he wrote:—

"It is a matter of history that forty-five years ago ten Bishops actually sold the Church, a bargain to her deadliest enemies. . . . In the awful crisis of her fate in the *Veto* struggle, the Irish Church was saved by the laity and the second order of the clergy, after it had been betrayed by the Bishops."[2]

When this article appeared, Dr. Griffiths appealed to Archbishop Murray, as to whether some public notice ought not to

[1] P. 737.

[2] To this oft-repeated calumny a sufficient answer may be found in the *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, vol. i., chapters iv. and v.

be taken of it ; but the latter seems to have thought it safer to leave the matter alone, and no further attempt at episcopal interference was made at the time. Lucas's great fight with Cardinal Cullen and the other Irish Bishops was yet ten years off in the future.

In the event, when the Commission was formed, it contained the names of three Irish Bishops, one being Dr. Murray of Dublin, and two prominent Catholic laymen. Lucas, however, was not softened by this ; he only declared that it was part of a deep-laid plan, and that when the bill had been accepted, they would be supplanted by " five Catholic Judases ". Many of the clergy, and the majority of the people also, continued opposed to the bill, and protests and petitions against it were passed up and down the country. Nevertheless, a certain number of testators availed themselves of its provisions, and the Act continued in force for nearly twenty years.

In the following session, that of 1845, Mr. Anstey returned to the fray, and once more drafted a bill repealing all the Penal Laws which still remained. It was introduced by Mr. Watson, a member for a Lancastrian constituency, who although himself a Protestant, was favourably disposed to the Catholics. The bill was a drastic one, and among the laws to be repealed were included the restrictive clauses of the Emancipation Act of 1829, *viz.* those against the Regulars, and those which prohibited Catholic Bishops from taking their titles from sees of which there was a Protestant Bishop. It may be questioned whether he was wise, at least so far as the latter clause was concerned ; for it had been from the beginning consistently disregarded throughout Ireland, where the Catholic Bishops had never ceased to use the titles of their ancient sees, so that the provision was manifestly still-born, and not likely ever to spring into life ; while from the fact that the Catholic body had accepted the Act of 1829 as substantially satisfying their claims, some thought that there was an air of ungraciousness in agitating for its revision so soon after it had passed. Moreover, in the last resort, if its enforcement was ever attempted, no great inconvenience would be caused ; for as O'Connell pointed out at the time, it only provided that the Bishops themselves should not use those titles ; and this did not prevent others addressing them in that way.

It was probably due to this clause in Mr. Anstey's bill that the measure was lost. Nevertheless, it drew out a declaration from Lord John Russell which was valuable in view of his later action at the time of the Restoration of the Hierarchy. For the bill having been introduced at the end of February, and read a second time without a division on May 28, reached the Committee stage on July 5, when Lord John Russell, the future author of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, in the course of his speech, uttered the following sentiments:—[1]

"With respect to that part of the Act of 1829 which prohibited the Roman Catholic Prelates from taking the titles of the sees over which they presided, he thought that although there might have been propriety in introducing those clauses into the measure of 1829, yet when they came to bring in a bill expressly for the removal of disabilities, nothing could be more puerile than to retain those provisions. He could not see any good purpose there could be in retaining them."

On the question about the Jesuits and Regulars, however, he thought more information was wanted as to what was done in other countries, before further legislation was passed. As a sign of good-will, he voted for the motion for going into Committee, though he thought that it might be impossible to carry the bill through. The motion, however, was defeated by 89 votes to 47, and the question was at an end for that session.

Nothing daunted, however, Mr. Anstey once more came to the front in 1846, and his bill was introduced by Mr. Watson as before, and read a second time on March 11. By this time the Government had taken the matter up, and introduced a bill of their own into the House of Lords under the title of the "Religious Opinions Bill," which passed its second reading on April 30. When Mr. Anstey's bill reached its Committee stage in the following week, Sir James Graham appealed to Mr. Watson to withdraw it, in view of the Government measure, which was intended to cover the same ground. Mr. Watson, however, refused to accede to his request; but the Committee adjourned, and some informal negotiations took place between Mr. Charles Langdale, on behalf of the Catholic Institute, Dr. Griffiths, Sir James Graham, and Lord Lyndhurst. As a result

[1] Report in *Tablet*, July 12, 1845, p. 442.

Mr. Anstey was induced to withdraw the first three clauses of his bill, which were considered too aggressive, concerning the removal of the law as to "superstitious uses," and the repeal of the restrictive clauses of the Emancipation Act. This concession having been agreed to, the consideration of the bill was resumed in Committee on June 24; but after a long and somewhat desultory debate, the motion "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair" was carried by a majority of 120 to 80, and the bill was accordingly lost.

The "Religious Opinions Bill" of the Government was of course still before the House; but the whole political horizon underwent a sudden change, on the very next day, when Sir Robert Peel's Government, while apparently in the zenith of its popularity on the repeal of the Corn Laws, were defeated on the Irish Crimes Bill by a majority of 73. They consequently tendered their resignations.

The new Prime Minister was Lord John Russell. A year earlier, after the previous Government crisis, he had found himself unable to form a Ministry. This time, however, he was more successful, and formed the Government which was destined to be in office at the time of the so-called "Papal Aggression".

The "Religious Opinions Bill" was in itself quite congenial to the new Government, and was accordingly proceeded with. Having passed through the House of Lords before the end of July, it went through the Commons during the first half of August. An attempt was made to secure the insertion of Mr. Anstey's clauses which had been excised from his own bill, but Lord John Russell opposed any such change so late in the session; and the Earl of Arundel and Surrey said that although he would vote for them if they were proposed, he would prefer them to be postponed. They were therefore withdrawn and the bill passed as it was. It received the Royal Assent on August 18.

In the following session Mr. Anstey made another attempt to pass his clauses, making them into a separate bill, which was introduced by Mr. Watson as usual; but it was opposed by the Bishop of Exeter, and defeated by 158 votes to 119. He continued to make a trial every year, and for a time the debate on the Catholic question took place as regularly year

by year as it had in pre-Emancipation days ; but the Catholics for the most part were not altogether in sympathy with these continual abortive endeavours. They had got rid of almost all the Penal Laws[1] except the restrictions of 1829, and these also were practically a dead letter. They were content to leave it so, and so it has remained until the present day.

When the General Election took place in the summer of 1847, Mr. Anstey crossed to Ireland, and stood for Youghal, where he secured his election ; and he spent five years in Parliament before he retired on being appointed Attorney-General at Hong-Kong. During his Parliamentary career he was able himself to introduce his own bills on the Catholic question ; and he took up many grievances, besides those of Catholics, arguing them all in his usual heated language. Thus, for example, he declared that Lord Palmerston's foreign policy was " part of a deliberate scheme for selling us to the despots of the Continent, and destroying the liberties of England and Europe ". On one occasion he spoke for over two hours. Nevertheless, his power of oratory was such that his opponents could never afford to leave him unanswered, though his methods did not always forward the various causes which he had at heart. By Catholics, however, his earnestness and zeal were always respected, and they did not forget that it was to his perseverance that they owed the repeal of statutes which still nominally proscribed their religion in this country. It was in recognition of his services in this connection that in the year 1847 Pope Pius IX. created him a Knight of the Order of St. Gregory.

[1] Those remaining affect the offices of Lord Chancellor and Lord Lieutenant for Ireland. These are still unable to be held by Catholics.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

IT is now time to turn our attention to the crisis within the Established Church which took place in the year 1845, together with the chief events which led up to it, in order to describe the effect which it had on the Catholic Church in this country; for the influx of so many prominent men into the small and struggling Catholic body could not but be fraught with great and far-reaching consequences.

It will not be necessary to tell the story of those events with any detail: for it has already been told so often and from such various points of view that to repeat it would be both tedious and unnecessary. It will be sufficient for our purpose to recall the main stages of the development of the movement, with their dates, so as to form some idea of the effect as viewed by the Catholic body from outside.

Mr. William Palmer of Worcester College, in his *Narrative of Events*,[1] declares that the movement to reanimate the Church of England with a new spirit was due in great measure to Catholic Emancipation and the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, which had hitherto acted as bars of separation from Catholics and Dissenters alike. Certain it is that when Newman became Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, in 1826, and began that series of sermons which were destined to exercise such powerful influence over so many, he had not yet adopted the views which were to form the basis of the future movement. Catholic Emancipation was still in the future, and as an old-fashioned Tory, he had always been steadfastly opposed to the measure. The change in his religious position can be dated from his tour with Hurrell Froude on which

[1] *Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of Tracts for the Times* (London, 1843).

he started in the Autumn of 1832—more than three years after Emancipation, and some months after the passing of the Reform Act. They began with a cruise in the Mediterranean, returning through Sicily and Italy, spending some time in Rome, where they became acquainted with Dr. Wiseman at the English College, as has been mentioned in a former chapter. It was at this visit that was initiated the sympathetic feeling between Dr. Wiseman and the future Tractarians which was to be so important a factor in their after-history.

At the conclusion of their visit to Rome the two travellers returned to Sicily, where Newman fell ill of a malarial fever, which for a time endangered his life. As soon as the danger was past, he had full leisure for the thoughts which the near approach of death had naturally suggested to him. It will not be necessary to trace the development of his mind which he has himself so fully analysed in his *Apologia*, it is sufficient to say that much of what he saw in Catholic countries impressed him favourably, but there were undoubtedly some things which were a difficulty to him. The effect on his companion was still more mixed. In a well-known letter written at the time, Froude speaks somewhat bluntly:—[1]

"We got introduced to [Dr. Wiseman] to find out whether they would take us in on any terms to which we could twist our consciences, and we found to our dismay that not one step could be gained without swallowing the Council of Trent as a whole. . . . [Newman] declares that ever since I heard this I have become a staunch Protestant, which is a most base calumny on his part, though I own it has altogether changed my notions of the Roman Catholics, and made me wish for a total overthrow of their system."

From this time he commonly spoke of them as "Tridentines"; but, as Newman points out, a letter of this kind, written to an intimate friend, must not be accepted too literally, still less as a deliberate statement of his frame of mind; and it is probable that Froude was more favourably impressed than he cared to admit. Such at least is a commonly accepted view, and Oakeley goes so far as to express his own belief that had Froude lived, he would probably have ended in the Catholic Church.

[1] *Remains*, i., p. 306.

It was shortly after their return to England that on July 14, 1833, Keble preached his celebrated sermon on National Apostacy. This sermon Newman used to consider as the formal inauguration of the movement of which he looked upon Keble as the primary author. He indeed owed much to direct intercourse with him. It was Hurrell Froude who had brought them together. He was the "mouthpiece and champion" of Keble's principles, which, impressed with his own personality, he communicated to Newman. "It would be . . . true to say," wrote Dean Church, "that with one exception, no one was more responsible for the impulse which led to the movement; no one had more to do with shaping its distinct aims and its moral spirit and character in its first stage."[1] And of Froude again Newman wrote: "He taught me to look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation. He fixed deep in me the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and he led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence."

The essential teaching of the new leaders hinged around the doctrine of the Apostolicity of the Anglican Church. They traced connection with the high church party of the seventeenth century, of which Archbishop Laud is perhaps the best-known representative; but whose views had practically been almost dead for over a century and a half.[2] The contention was that the Reformers had gone much too far, and indeed that the Anglican Church called for a counter reformation in the opposite sense: that much Catholic doctrine and Catholic practice had been preserved in the Prayer Book, and that even the Thirty-nine Articles were susceptible of being explained without denying the lawfulness of such practices. The work of the future was (it was contended) to restore them to the general life of the Church. In his well-known *Via Media*, as traced out in the lectures on "Romanism and Popular Protestantism," which he published in 1837, Newman maintained that Canterbury held a middle place between Rome on the one hand and Geneva on the other. The Anglican Church had preserved the episcopacy, and was there-

[1] *Oxford Movement*, p. 31.

[2] That is, dead as a public doctrine. It is said to have survived in certain country rectories and individual cases, sufficiently for the new party to assert their continuity with those who had gone before them.

fore to be considered "Catholic," not Protestant; and his party gave themselves to such characteristically Catholic practices as fasting Communion, Auricular Confession, Devotion to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, and fasting and abstinence, which latter they carried out with far greater strictness than Catholics themselves. At that time indeed they had no leaning towards "Romanism"; and as though to repel in advance any suspicion in that direction, they took every opportunity of speaking disrespectfully of what they designated the "Corruptions of Rome".

The method which they adopted for the propagation of their views was the periodical issue of pamphlets, which they entitled "Tracts for the Times," from which they derived their name of Tractarians. The first of these, on the Apostolical Succession, written by Newman himself, appeared in the autumn of 1833. At the end of the following year the first forty-six of them were republished. "They dealt with the essential nature of the Christian Church, the corruptions of the various Churches in Christendom, the current objections to the Church of England, its position as part of the Church Catholic, its liturgy, in which there still remained so many traces of its Catholic parentage. The Anglo-Catholic Divines and the early Fathers were claimed as ancestors in the faith of English Churchmen. Extracts from the writings of three English divines, who were Bishops of the Church—Beveridge, Wilson, and Cosin—figured in some of these early tracts, and translations from such early Fathers as Justin Martyr, Ignatius, and Irenæus."[1]

Hurrell Froude died in 1836, but by this time the movement was fairly launched. After Newman, the most prominent figure was Dr. E. B. Pusey, Canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Hebrew. His adherence to the movement by his tract on Baptism (1835) "gave us (wrote Newman) at once a position and a name"; and from that time the party were often spoken of as "Puseyites," though in point of fact Dr. Pusey had not advanced so far as Newman, their real leader. The party as a whole first showed their strength in the University when in May, 1836, what was really a vote of

[1] *The Oxford Movement*, by Wilfrid Ward, p. 24.

censure on Dr. Hampden for his liberal theology, was carried on a vote by no less than 474 to 94.

About the year 1838 an important development was taking place in the accession of several younger men of influence, destined afterwards to become prominent members of the party. One of these was Frederick Faber, then recently elected to a Fellowship at University College, whose name is now so well known to us. Soon after this, however, he ceased to reside at Oxford, and from the point of view of the movement itself, a more noteworthy accession was that of Rev. William George Ward, Fellow and Mathematical Lecturer of Balliol, who was to be instrumental a few years later in bringing matters to a crisis. He was a man of clear sight and strong intellect, and took a more comprehensive view of the movement as a whole and its probable outcome than did many others who had joined it. Moreover, he was candid to a fault —in later life he was described by his friend Tennyson as "*grotesquely* truthful,"—and was a man of relentless logic. If he saw that some particular position was the logical outcome of his views, however unpalatable it might be to himself or to others, he accepted it without hesitation and proclaimed it publicly. His presence did much to press matters forward.

For the new members of the party were far more Roman in their tendencies than their older brethren. Frederick Oakeley, Fellow of Balliol and a close friend of W. G. Ward, proclaimed his adherence to the party in 1837 ; in 1839 he was appointed to Margaret Chapel in London—the precursor of the well-known All Saints', Margaret Street—where he proceeded with the avowed object of introducing the Tractarian teaching and religion to a London congregation. The result was considered highly satisfactory, and the poor old-fashioned church, having been changed in its internal fittings almost out of recognition, became spoken of as the " Tractarian Cathedral," where he introduced a style of ritual which showed his strong Roman tendencies.

At the same time that Newman was being pushed forward by W. G. Ward and his friends, he was beginning to be shaken as to his own position. His studies brought him across the old Monophysite controversy of the fifth century, and it was borne in upon him that the arguments by which he was accus-

tomed to defend the Anglican Church would have equally availed in favour of the Monophysites. His position was further shaken from an unexpected quarter when in August, 1839, Dr. Wiseman's article on the Donatist Schism appeared in the *Dublin Review*. In this a close analogy was worked out between the ecclesiastical position of the Donatists and that of the Tractarians themselves.

This point marks an important epoch in the movement itself, for now for the first time the Catholics of England became a factor in the situation. Canon Oakeley[1] has called attention to the curious want of knowledge on this point among the Tractarians. He seems to be alluding to a well-known passage of Newman's in the "Second Spring" in which he describes his former ideas of English Catholics: "not a sect, not even an interest, as men conceived of it, not a body however small, representative of the great Communion abroad—but a mere handful of individuals, who might be counted like the pebbles and *detritus* of the great deluge. . . . Here a set of poor Irishmen, coming and going at harvest time, or a colony of them lodged in a miserable quarter of the vast metropolis. There perhaps an elderly person, seen walking in the streets, grave and solitary, and strange though noble in bearing, and said to be of good family, and a 'Roman Catholic'. An old-fashioned house of gloomy appearance, closed in with high walls, with an iron gate and yews, and the report attaching to it that 'Roman Catholics' lived there; but who they were, or what they did, or what was meant by calling them Roman Catholics, no one could tell—though it had an unpleasant sound and told of form and superstition."

Canon Oakeley matches this with his own strange ideas on the subject, which he declares were quite typical of those held by the generality of the party:—[2]

"I thought," he writes, "that the Roman Catholics of England did not, at the most, number more than 80 to 100 souls, who were distributed in certain great families over the midland and northern counties. I thought that each of these families lived in a large haunted house, embosomed in yew trees, and surrounded by high brick walls. About the interior of these mansions I had also my ideas. I thought that they

[1] *The Tractarian Movement* (Longmans, 1865), p. 35. [2] *Ibid.*

were made up of vast dreary apartments, walled with tapestry; with state bedrooms, in which were enormous beds with ebony bedsteads surmounted by plumes, and which only required horses to be put to them in order to become funeral cars. I fancied, of course, that there reigned around and within these abodes a preternatural silence, broken only by the flapping of bats and the screeching of owls."

He also gives his former ideas of Catholic priests, based, it would appear, on his slight knowledge of Dr. Kirk of Lichfield, where he had for a time held a prebendary's stall:—[1]

"Of Catholic priests I had a far less distinct idea. I knew only that they had their little suburban chapels, in which they perpetrated ineffable rites. The only token of humanity about them was rather of a pleasing character. It was the little modest presbytery by the side of the chapel, with its wicket by the road, and its narrow gravel walk edged with neatly-trimmed box, leading up to the entrance, and its little garden by the side, in which the combination of the *utile* and the *dulce* was so happily expressed by the union of pinks and sweet-peas, with plants of a more homely and esculent character. But who and what were the inmates of these dwellings? That they must be mortal was evident; but how did they employ themselves? They were never to be seen in public places, and if they ever went abroad it must be in company with the aforesaid owls and bats and other such shy and lucifugous creatures. Surely that could not be one of them whom we saw the other day working in his garden like a common labourer, or coming out of that poor little cottage, so meanly clad, with his hand on his breast and his eyes on the ground? Of course not, for priests are always represented in pictures and on the stage as big men, with haughty looks and shaven crowns."

Canon Oakeley then dates the appearance of Dr. Wiseman's article[2] as the time when Newman first realised that the English Catholics were a force to be reckoned with, and that even secessions from the Established Church were becoming a possibility. In his answer to Wiseman in the *British*

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] He says indeed "towards the year 1838"; and Wiseman was writing articles on the Oxford Movement at that time; but it was his article of August, 1839, which first made a strong impression on Newman: see his *Life*, i., p. 68.

Critic—which was the organ of the party—he spoke less strongly on the anti-Roman side, maintaining that there had been faults on both sides. He was unable, however, to stem the current which had begun to set in, and it was manifest that the pro-Roman party were gaining ground.

It was under these circumstances and with the avowed object of retaining men like Oakeley and Ward within the Establishment that Newman wrote the famous Tract XC., which was published in February, 1841. It was an attempt to show that subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles was not inconsistent with the most extreme doctrine that they could hold. "Newman said the real meaning of the Articles was a matter of life and death with us," one of them wrote; "and he contended that the doctrine of the Old Church lived and spoke in the Anglican formularies in substance and in a true sense. Man had done his worst to disfigure, to mutilate the old Catholic truth; but there it was in spite of them in the Articles still. It was there; but this must be shown."

The main argument of the Tract is summed up by Canon Oakeley as follows:—[1]

"Tract 90 is a commentary not upon all the Thirty-nine Articles, but upon such of them only as appear directly or by implication to contradict certain Catholic doctrines. Their wording is in many places so extremely loose as to allow of their receiving the benefit of the doubt in favour of an orthodox interpretation. By dint of fixing upon their words meanings which were just admissible, though not on the surface, or of clearing up doubts from the language of other Articles which was either explanatory or contradictory, and which it was more respectful to suppose the first rather than the second, the Tract vindicated for the Articles a sense not absolutely fatal to the authority of the Church and the grace of certain sacraments."

As a sample of the line of argument adopted, he proceeds:—

"In the case of those [Articles] which undertake to deal with what they call 'Romish doctrine' (in the original 'doctrina Romanensium'), the writer considers that the framers meant to condemn not formal definitions of the Church (the Council of Trent had not then spoken), but certain popular yet

[1] *Ibid.*, i., p. 43.

'authorised' interpretations of those definitions to which the Church in the abstract, viewed as a dogmatic teacher, was not formally committed. He thus seemed able to claim on behalf of the Established Church a certain doctrine on Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, etc., which was at any rate, he maintained, the doctrine of Antiquity, and might even be that of the Tridentine Decrees, apart from the aforesaid popular or traditional interpretation of those Decrees; or, in other words, provided only that such doctrine were not what the Articles meant by 'Doctrina Romanensium,' it might be held consistently with an honest subscription to them."

The Tract was received, however, with a storm of disapprobation which for the time put a check on the whole movement. Protests against it were issued by four prominent Tutors, then by the Heads of the Colleges, and by the Hebdomadal Board; and finally the Bishops issued charges condemning it. The Tracts were discontinued, and in the following year Newman left Oxford and took up his residence at Littlemore, a village in his parish, where he had built a small chapel. Here he gathered around him a small number of friends,[1] who led with him a semi-monastic life, while giving themselves to literary pursuits. Amongst other works they brought out the series of *Lives of the English Saints* which have since become well known. Newman's own position was further tried by the action of the British Government with respect to the Protestant bishopric of Jerusalem. It was arranged that the Bishop should be nominated alternately by England and Prussia, which was practically identifying the Anglican Church with the German Lutherans. Newman finally resigned St. Mary's in 1843.

While all these things were going on, the Catholics of the day remained an uninterested spectator, little thinking that they would ever have any practical bearing on his own religious body. They were indeed almost as ignorant of the Tractarians as we have seen the Tractarians to have been of them. When Dr. Wiseman visited England in 1836, we have seen how bewildered he was to find how little notice his co-religionists were taking of a movement which to him seemed fraught with great possibilities for the future of religion in this

[1] Ambrose St. John, John Dalgairns, Richard Stanton, and Frederick Bowles; and for a time, William Lockhart, and one or two others.

country. It was really not until after the publication of Tract XC. that they began to wake up to the fact that whatever the issue might turn out to be, the whole movement demanded their careful attention ; but when they began to watch its progress, they did so as unsympathetic observers of a state of mind which they never really understood.

For of all the phases of Anglicanism, that of the High Church party is perhaps the most difficult for a Catholic to grasp. The very fact of their professing to hold so much of the Church's doctrine produces a sense of puzzle and almost of annoyance at their stopping short of holding all of it. The position they take up and the limitations they have to make for themselves in order to enable them to remain within the Establishment necessitate a certain number of closely reasoned distinctions, which become a source of positive irritation to the average Catholic ; while the Thirty-nine Articles seem to him so completely, and even aggressively Protestant, that the sight of persons signing them and yet declaring that they hold Catholic doctrine presents to him the air of unreality. As a result, quite an undue proportion of our controversial literature is aimed against that section of the Church of England. If that is the feeling now, it would have been far more so in the early days of the movement. There were Catholics still living who remembered the days of the Penal Laws ; the persecution of their priests for saying Mass was a vivid tradition amongst them ; the very word " Mass " was not used in public —they spoke of attending " prayers "—and the instinct of concealment still survived. Naturally when a section of the Church of England declared that the celebration of Mass was, and always had been, part of the worship of their Church, the Catholics of that day could hardly believe their senses, and many questioned the *bonâ fides* of those who had put forth such statements. " For three hundred years "—said a writer in the *Orthodox Journal*[1]—" they have looked quietly on while we were the victims of cruel laws. They even aided in the capture of our priests. A word from them, a declaration of their present opinions, would have extinguished the burning faggot and sheathed the bloody knife ; yet they were silent. Can we now believe them sincere, when they declare that their

[1] February, 18, 1843, p. 105.

Church has always taught the doctrines which they now teach?"

The question of the sincerity of the Tractarians was indeed much canvassed among Catholics. The following quotation from an article in the *Catholic Magazine*[1] is typical of the view of an average charitable-minded Catholic at that time:—

"I must say a few words respecting the interesting proceedings at Oxford. Of course every individual is entitled to his own particular opinion on the subject. Hence one writes a pamphlet and asks, 'Are the Puseyites sincere?' Another asserts that there is no doubt but that they will all be converted to the Catholic faith; some one else contradicts this, and asserts that they are not to be trusted, that their only object is to prop up their tottering Church, by endeavouring to erect a little Rome in England. Now amidst these conflicting opinions the middle way is the best; many are most certainly sincere, and many on the other hand most probably are not so much as others. But we judge no man; we leave them and their cause in the hands of God, who alone knoweth the heart of man. One thing, however, cannot be denied; by their writings they have enlarged the bounds of our prospects—they have been instrumental in the conversion of many, or at least they have excited a spirit of inquiry which has long been dormant in this land. Hence though they themselves should not embrace that truth towards which they so nearly approach, yet the seed which they have scattered will fall upon many a heart in which it will fructify and bring forth a hundredfold."

On the question of the probable outcome of the movement, the following extract, likewise from an article in the *Catholic Magazine*, is also typical both of the knowledge and of the limitations of the average hereditary Catholic as to the nature of the movement, and the curiously narrow outlook through which they viewed it:—[2]

"Let us see, in the first place, what Catholic truths the Puseyites defend; and secondly, what are the errors whereby they weaken and disfigure them. They defend with great zeal the independence of the Church on the State; the necessity of a teaching and governing authority in the Church; the necessity of tradition for determining the authenticity, the

[1] September, 1841, p. 566. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

canonicity and even the sense of Scripture; and they recognise unity, sanctity, Catholicity, and apostolicity as inherent and essential marks of the true Church. Moreover, they assert the doctrine of the Real Presence, the existence of an Eucharistic sacrifice, the antiquity and propriety of prayers for the dead, and the utility of outward mortification and ascetic observances. They are great advocates for solemnity and dignity in public worship; speak with favour of clerical celibacy; and evince no little aversion to the character and proceedings of the first Reformers, particularly on the Continent. Lastly, (and herein perhaps consists the principal service which the new teachers are rendering to the Catholic cause), they promote and encourage the study of the monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity, the ancient liturgies, Church history, and the writings of the early Fathers, some whereof they have edited and translated. Such are the positive doctrines and tendencies of Puseyism; and no one can deny that they are considerable steps in advance towards Catholic truth.

"Let us now look at the negative opinions of the new sect; opinions which are so strangely at variance with the doctrines I have stated, that could we suppose Puseyism to remain stationary in the position it at present occupies, it would doubtless be the most inconsistent and incoherent of all the inconsistent sects of Protestantism. A One Catholic Church consisting of mutually independent and hostile National Churches—Scripture and Tradition the rule of Faith in the first ages, and then Scripture alone—the Catholic Church one in her doctrine, worship, and government, yet devoid of a centre of unity—the real presence without transubstantiation—prayers for the dead without purgatory—the Council of Trent schismatically seceding from the Church of the preceding ages, in despite of the Book of Homilies which asserts that those 'ages had been plunged in damnable idolatry,' and in despite of the declaration of all Protestants who protested against what they called the 'Conventicle of Trent' because it upheld 'that damnable idolatry,' a voluntary self-reformation of the Anglican Church, achieved at the imperious dictation and under the most violent persecution on the part of the civil power—these are the idle illusions, the empty sophistries, the incoherent fancies, wherewith the new teachers endeavour to hoodwink

their partisans, to appease the fears and jealousy of their Protestant opponents, and to hush the voice of their own conscience."

On reading the above we can well realise that the ordinary hereditary Catholics never understood the movement which was going forward so close to them. They did not seem even to wish to do so. They were provoked by the whole attitude of the Tractarians, and satisfied themselves by issuing proofs (as it appeared to them) of the untenableness of the position. It was here that the attitude of Dr. Wiseman was so widely different. He entered fully into the minds of the Oxford teachers, and sympathised with all their aspirations; and seeing, as he did, so much good and even personal holiness among them, he felt confident that they would in the end be led to realise and accept the teaching of the Church in all its fulness. The articles in the *Dublin Review*, written by Wiseman himself, show not only greater knowledge of the movement than those in the *Catholic Magazine*, but also exhibit considerable sympathy with those who were taking part in it. In his first article on the *Tracts for the Times*, he boldly faced the question :—[1]

"Will [the Tractarians] succeed in their work?" (he wrote). "We firmly believe they will: nay, strange to say, we hope so. As to patching up by their prescriptions the worn-out constitution of the poor old English Church, it is beyond human power. . . . How then will they succeed? Not by their attempts to heal, but by their blows to wound. Their spear may be like that in Grecian fable, which inflicted a gash but let out an ulcer. They strike boldly and deeply into the very body of dissent, and the morbid humours of Protestantism will be drained out. Let this be done, and Catholic vitality will circulate in their place."

The Tractarians themselves would not indeed have used quite the same language, but their main idea was not far removed from this. In Dr. Wiseman's early articles the tone of sympathy predominated; and even later when—as in the article on the Donatists already alluded to—he was carried into an argumentative strain, it was always with evident sympathy towards those against whom he was arguing.

[1] *Dublin Review*, April, 1838, p. 308.

It will be worth while to compare these two attitudes in closer detail. No more typical exponent of the unsympathetic attitude of the old Catholics could be found than Bishop Griffiths, and we are fortunately able to give his view of the movement in his own words, from a letter written on May 4, 1842, to the Rev. James Jauch, the priest of the German church in London. The latter had written asking for an account of it, in order to inform the well-known Prince Hohenlohe of Munich, afterwards titular Bishop of Sardica, the reputed worker of miracles. Dr. Griffiths answered as follows :—[1]

"REVD. DEAR SIR,

"You can inform His Highness Prince Hohenlohe that several of the clergy of the Protestant Church of England are endeavouring to introduce Catholic practices which the pseudo-Reformers in Elizabeth's reign rejected as superstitious, and to accord even by forced interpretations the articles of their creed with the doctrines and decisions of the Catholic Church. They reject the name of Protestant, and wish themselves to be called a branch of the Catholic Church. They seem to consider that the different branches of the Catholic Church may differ in points of doctrine, and that those are schismatics who separate themselves from the branch established in their own country. They apply opprobrious epithets, and attribute false doctrines to the Catholic Church in general, and consider the Catholics in England as schismatics because not united to the Established Church of England. The leaders of this party seem to have no leaning to the Catholic Church itself, but to wish to recover as much as they can of Catholic doctrine and practice without submission and union to the true Church. They are called Puseyites by others, because Dr. Pusey has written several pamphlets on these subjects.

"The principles, however, which guide their writings necessarily vindicate Catholic practices, and remove prejudices more extensively and more effectually than the writings of the Catholic clergy, because they are read and believed as coming from the enemies of the Catholic Church. Hence there have been many conversions to the true faith; even some of the Protestant clergy have abandoned their errors, and their worldly

[1] Griffiths Letter Book (*Westminster Archives*).

prospects. The numbers, however, are small when compared with the population. About six Protestant parsons have been converted, and a few hundreds of the laity.

"We have sufficient reason to thank Almighty God for the removal of prejudices in some quarters, and for the recovery of many lost sheep; but when we look at the whole population, and consider the progress of conversion, we cannot say there is a reasonable prospect of England's reunion to the Church of Christ. The population of Great Britain is nearly nineteen million; of this number about 900,000 are Catholics. The annual number of conversions is about 2,000 or 3,000; many years, therefore, without the especial interposition of Divine Providence, must elapse before any great progress is made in the conversion of our country: particularly as we annually lose many Catholics from neglect, from allowing their children through worldly motives to be educated in error, etc., etc.

"There is a spirit of inquiry abroad, prejudices are diminishing, temporal obstacles are considerably lessened; we may therefore hope that the zeal and labours of the ministers of the Gospel, aided by the frequent prayers of God's servants, not only in England but throughout Europe, may have a more abundant blessing attached to them by the Lord of the Vineyard, in whose hands are the hearts of all nations.

"You can communicate these few observations to his Highness, with the expression of my profound respect, and with recommendation of myself to his pious prayers."[1]

In order to contrast this with Dr. Wiseman's attitude, we can take his very remarkable printed "Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury," which he issued in the autumn of 1841, the publication of which may be considered his reply to Tract XC.[2] It was ostensibly an account to the Earl of Shrewsbury, on his return to England, of the state and history of the movement. The hopes which Dr. Wiseman himself had formed as to the outcome of it were summarised by him in the following passage:—[3]

"We Catholics must necessarily deplore the separation as

[1] The letter is dated May 4, 1842.

[2] It was in fact written a year earlier, before Tract XC. had appeared, but for various reasons was not published at that time.

[3] P. 11.

a deep moral evil, as a state of schism of which nothing can justify the continuance. Many members of the Anglican Church view it in the same light as to the first point—its sad evil, though they excuse their individual position in it as an unavoidable misfortune. Many of us therefore are in accordance thus far, that the sooner an end can be put to the present painful position of the Anglican Church with relation to the rest of the world, the better; and we may depend upon a willing, an able, and a most zealous co-operation with any effort which we may make towards bringing her into her rightful position, in Catholic unity with the Holy See and the Churches of its obedience—in other words, with the Church Catholic. Is this a visionary idea? is it merely the expression of a strong desire? I know that many will so judge it; and perhaps were I to consult my own quiet, I would not venture to express it. But I will in simplicity of heart cling to hopefulness cheered as I feel it by so many promising appearances."

A little later he proceeds:—[1]

"I see an approximation not merely towards individual Catholic practices or doctrines, but towards Catholic union. . . . It seems to me impossible to read the works of the Oxford divines, and especially to follow them chronologically, without discovering a daily approach towards our holy Church, both in doctrine and in affectionate feeling. Our saints, our popes, have become dear to them by little and little; our rites and ceremonies, our offices, nay our very rubrics are precious in their eyes, far alas! beyond what many of us consider them; our monastic institutions, our charitable and educational provisions have become more and more objects with them of earnest study; and everything in fine that concerns our religion deeply interests their attention."

And again:—[2]

"Further proof of the view which I present is this: that general dissatisfaction at the system of the Anglican Church is clearly expressed in the works of these authors: it is not a blame cast on one article or another, it is not a blemish found in one practice, or a Catholic want in a second, or a Protestant redundancy in a third; but there is an impatient sickness of the whole; it is the weariness of a man who carries a burthen;

[1] P. 13. [2] P. 16.

it is not of any individual stick of his faggot that he complains —it is the bundle which tires and worries him. The dependence of the Church on the State, its Egyptian task-master and oppressor (as they deem it), the want of a proper influence of the clergy in the appointment of their bishops, and of power in the bishops to rule with effect; the weakness of the Church in enforcing spiritual censures; the destruction of all conciliary authority in the Hierarchy; the Protestant spirit of the Articles in the aggregate, and their insupportable uncatholicism in specific points; the loss of ordinances, sacraments and liturgical rites; the extinction of the monastic and ascetic feeling and observances, the decay of 'awe, mystery, tenderness, reverence, devotedness and other feelings which may be specially called Catholic'; the miserable feeling of solitariness and separation above described: these are but a portion of the grievances whereof we meet complaints at every turn, the removal of which would involve so thorough a change in the essential condition of the Anglican Church as these writers must feel would bring her within the sphere of attraction of all-absorbing unity, and could not long withhold her from the embrace of its centre." He then appeals to the Earl of Shrewsbury himself:—[1]

"I need not ask *you* whether they ought to be met with any other feeling than sympathy, kindness, and offers of hearty co-operation? Ought we to sit down coldly while such sentiments are breathed in our hearing, and rise not up to bid the mourner have hope? Are we who sit in the full light to see our friends feeling their way towards us through the gloom that surrounds them, and faltering for want of an outstretched hand, or turning astray for want of a directing voice; and sit on and keep silent, amusing ourselves at their painful efforts, or perhaps allow them to hear from time to time only the suppressed laugh of one who triumphs over their distress? God forbid!"

One more quotation must be given, as indicating Wiseman's answer to what he describes as "the frequent and strong denunciations which we meet in Oxford writers of Rome as she now is"; quoting especially the words of the writer in the

[1] P. 20.

British Critic, "Till she ceases to be what she practically is, a union is impossible between her and England". "This seems at first sight" (he admits) "a bar to all present hopes, and to some extent to all future ones." But he answers somewhat ingeniously as follows:—[1]

"This repeated wish that Rome may be different from what she is may be satisfied in various ways; and though expressed in one sense, may find an answer in another. For instance, blots may be removed from an object by being wiped away from the medium through which it is viewed, and which transferred its own defects to the object; and in like manner Rome may soon appear and be very different to sincere eyes that look at her now through distorted representations or descriptions highly coloured in some parts, or even through slighter misunderstandings. Again, a part of a picture may seem dark and unpleasant, not because its colours are so, but because sufficient light is not cast upon it; and so many things appear cheerless and painful to others, not because truly so, but because they want proper light to be cast upon them by reasonable explanation. Or the defect may arise from the very position of the spectator. A pious and intelligent person observed to me the other day that our devotions to the saints might be compared to their representations on our beautiful old church windows; when seen from without, they present but dark surfaces and ill-shaped outlines; when from within the church they seem to glow with the rich and varied light of heaven, in pure and majestic forms."

Finally, with his vivid Celtic imagination, he gives his visions of the future in the following glowing terms:—[2]

"Experience has now shown that the country population are ready to receive without murmuring, indeed with pleasure, the Catholic views propounded from Oxford, and even more, when taught through regular parochial instruction. Add the richness and majesty of the Catholic ritual, the variety of its sublime services, the touching offices of peculiar seasons, the numberless institutions for charitable objects, and its hourly sanctifications of domestic life, and dissent would break in pieces beneath the silent action of universal attraction, and its fragments gather round its all-powerful principle. Then send

[1] P. 28. [2] P. 40.

forth men of mortified looks and placid demeanour, girt with the cord of a St. Francis, or bearing on their breasts the seal of Christ's passion, as on their countenances the marks of its mortification (like the followers of Venerable Paul of the Cross [1]), whose garb allows no comparison of superior fineness or affected poverty with that of the poorest that surround him, but whose attire is at once majestic and coarse, and with bare heads and feet, holding the emblem of redemption, let them preach judgment, and death, and future punishment, and penance, and justice, and chastity. And they will be heard by thousands with awe and reverence. And we shall see wonders of reformation, pure faith revive with better lives, and the head converted by the converted heart."

The Pope himself was completely won over by the picture drawn by Dr. Wiseman at various times of the impending conversion of England, and blamed Dr. Griffiths for not taking the same view. In the *Directory* for 1841, Dr. Griffiths, as usual, wrote the "New Year's Gift," then customary. In it the following passage occurred :—[2]

"In every age of the Christian world the awful predictions of St. Paul have been verified : heresiarchs have arisen, speaking perverse things to draw away disciples after them ; ravening wolves have entered in, not sparing the flock (Acts xx. 29, 30) ; different sects have separated themselves from the lawful pastors whom Jesus Christ had appointed, as He Himself had been sent by His Heavenly Father. At their first separation some leaders of schisms have denied a greater number of revealed truths, whilst others have rejected only a few. In their progress they have generally increased the number of their errors, and have been again divided into other branches as hostile to each other as to the Catholic Church, which they had deserted. As time has rolled on, we occasionally find them acknowledging some truths which they had formerly rejected as errors, and approaching in particular tenets nearer to the true Church which they had abandoned ; but scarcely shall we find a body of schismatics returning with sincerity to the true Faith."

This passage, especially the last line, gave great offence to

[1] It is hardly necessary to point out, as before, that this was written before the Canonisation of St. Paul of the Cross.

[2] P. 3.

the Holy Father. In his printed letter to the London clergy, alluded to in a previous chapter,[1] he took occasion to complain of the attitude adopted. The following is a translation of the words he used :—[2]

"For in truth . . . no belief is more deadly, none can prevail among you more likely to quench the admirable zeal for church building than that maintained recently by your Bishop in the *Catholic Directory*, namely, that it has never been heard of that a nation torn by schism from the Holy See ever returned of its own accord to the bosom of the Church. To what can it tend, such an opinion as this, utterly unsuited to the present time, except to check and discourage that noble band of Catholics, which with such effort of soul, such generous abundance of gifts, presses forward the building of churches? What, I repeat, can be the result of your Bishop's remarks but to hold back spirits eager for conversions, spirits more lofty than his own? And what country on earth, I should like to ask your sapient Bishop, was ever by the same cunning devices of its rulers robbed of the faith of its fathers, as your unhappy land has been? Where, therefore, no comparison can be made in matters so grave, why does he institute the comparison of such a deadly result? In very truth, Beloved Children, I am forced to declare what I had far rather leave unsaid, that for the restoring of the Catholic Faith in England

Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.

"Furthermore, as I would din into the ears of your Bishop, what is the reason why the deadly enemies of our religion are now in such alarm, mistrusting the safety of their own, encircled around though it be with weapons of defence? What is the reason why nearly every man of keen intelligence, and many too among the less gifted multitude acknowledge against their will that the Catholic Faith is moving not with slow steps in England, but is with amazing and irresistible advance returning again to its ancient home? In a word, what race at any time, where the Catholic religion has once been lost, has ever been able to show the most learned of those in schism in its richly endowed Universities, searching out all the arguments

[1] i., p. 178.
[2] The original Latin of the passage can be found in Appendix G.

of antiquity, setting them forth without a thought of self-interest, publishing them in abundance for the general good as we may to-day see done by the Puseyites? If, therefore, this Bishop of yours, where everything is so clear, is the only man who cannot see the sky brightening in England, all the more must you and we take care, Beloved Sons, that you and the laity of England may not have your eyes darkened by the clouds that overshadow his. For it is altogether impossible that any possessed by this belief of his can either devote themselves unceasingly to conversions like the Jesuits, or favour the building of churches to welcome converts."

It has often been said that the event proved that Dr. Wiseman in his more hopeful outlook was right, and men like Dr. Griffiths were wrong. This, however, can only be admitted with considerable qualification. It is true that many more influential converts to the Church were made than the most sanguine of the old Catholics expected; and an important factor in reaching this result was the sympathetic interest shown to them by Dr. Wiseman. If it had not been for him, the path of the majority of the converts would have been far more difficult, and probably many would never have reached the Church at all. So at least one of the most prominent of them afterwards declared. Thus far then Dr. Wiseman certainly accomplished a great and most important work.

But there is another side to the picture. Important as were the conversions of such distinguished men as Newman, Faber, Oakeley, Ward, and the rest, there can be no doubt that Dr. Wiseman had looked forward to more than the reception of individuals. He was hopeful, even confident, of a national return to the Catholic Faith—as he said in his letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury; and this belief was shared by many converts of the stamp of Lisle Phillipps or George Spencer; while the other Bishops were equally confident that there was no sign whatever of any such desirable eventuality; and that no great gain in numbers was to be looked for more than to compensate for the ordinary annual "leakage" through Catholics falling away from their religion. In this they undoubtedly proved right, and Wiseman wrong. His letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, in the light of subsequent events, reads pathetically; for it is now admitted by all that no real sign of what

was spoken of as the Conversion of England has ever showed itself from first to last. True the conversion of Newman was, to use Disraeli's hackneyed phrase written in 1870, "a blow to the Church of England under which it still reels,"[1] and there were many other similar if smaller blows; there were even moments when those who stayed behind felt real anxiety as to what might be coming; but in the event many of those whose conversion had been confidently hoped for—as Dr. Pusey himself—never came over; nor was there ever a panic among the rank and file of Anglicans, or anything like a general exodus to Rome. Viewed as a forecast of the probable ultimate outcome of the movement, the estimate of Dr. Griffiths was not far from the mark.

[1] *Lothaire*, Preface, p. xv.

CHAPTER XX.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT (*continued*). THE EARLY CONVERTS.

ALTHOUGH there was not at any time any general exodus from within the Church of England which could legitimately hold out to Catholics a hope of a corporate conversion of even a section of it, among individuals there was sufficient movement to cause uneasiness to the Anglican authorities, and to arouse the attention of the most apathetic and unhopeful among the Catholic body.

The first signs of what was coming began in the early forties, when several clergymen were received into the Church. The best known among these was Rev. Richard Waldo Sibthorpe, formerly Fellow of Magdalen, at that time incumbent of St. James's, Ryde, in the Isle of Wight. He was a man of considerable reputation as a preacher and writer, but was already known as wanting in stability of character. So early as the year 1811 he got into correspondence with Bishop Milner, and even went to Wolverhampton with a view to being received into the Church; but his father hearing of it, sent after him, and had him brought away before any ceremony had taken place.

After this Mr. Sibthorpe seems to have settled down comfortably in his Anglican surroundings, and we hear nothing more about his Catholic aspirations until October, 1841, when he visited Dr. Wiseman at Oscott. He went with no further intention than of making the acquaintance of a distinguished Roman ecclesiastic, and having a friendly talk; but after a few days Dr. Wiseman's influence over him prevailed, and he was received into the Church. The whole proceeding appeared abrupt, and it was much criticised by the more conservative Catholics at the time. Dr. Wiseman's view was, however, both with respect to Mr. Sibthorpe and to others later in a similar position, that the important thing was

to receive them into the Church as soon as they were willing to take that step; and that once they were Catholics, the rest would come from their new surroundings, and from the grace of the sacraments which they would receive. In the case of a clergyman, his religious knowledge would (Wiseman thought) be obviously sufficient, and he saw no reason to go through any course of systematic "instruction," as is insisted on for ordinary converts, which would have had the effect of postponing their reception. He always acted on this principle, and received many others, as he did Mr. Sibthorpe, at very short notice.

But more than this. If they had been clergymen, and if they were unmarried, he thought that the sooner they could join the ranks of the clergy, and exercise the ministry the better. There was, he thought, no reason for them to go through an extended course of theology. He accordingly ordained Mr. Sibthorpe priest within six months; and even before this he gave him faculties to preach while only a deacon. Several of Mr. Sibthorpe's published sermons were delivered before he had been a Catholic many months. This was also much criticised, and the critics sang a note of triumph when two years later Mr. Sibthorpe returned to the Anglican communion.[1] It was freely said that Dr. Wiseman had allowed his enthusiasm to outrun his judgment, and had completely mistaken the real tone of mind of the Oxford men.

His justification, however, was not long in coming. Within a few months there were two remarkable conversions. One was that of William Lockhart, of Exeter College, who had been for a time one of Newman's community at Littlemore. He had been for some while in an unsettled state of mind, but had promised Newman to stay at least three years. This promise, however, he found himself unable to keep. A chance meeting with Mr. Lisle Phillipps and Dr. Gentili at the rooms of Ward at Balliol resulted in a visit to Loughborough. Here Dr. Gentili induced him to make a retreat, which ended in his not only being received into the Church, but also joining Dr. Gentili's order, in which he was afterwards a prominent figure.

The other conversion alluded to was that of Rev. Bernard

[1] In 1865 he once more became a Catholic, and Dr. Wiseman had the satisfaction of hearing his Mass during his (Wiseman's) last illness in that year. Sibthorpe remained a Catholic after this till his death in 1879.

Smith, formerly Fellow of Sibthorpe's own College, then Vicar of Leadenham in Lincolnshire. The first seeds of his conversion were due to Pugin, whom he had met at Oxford, and to whom he entrusted the re-decorating of the roof of his church at Leadenham. Pugin stayed with him there, and impressed him vividly with his earnestness and sincerity. By his good offices an interview was arranged with Dr. Wiseman, and Mr. Smith visited Oscott, where he was received into the Church in 1844. Being unmarried, he also entered the College as a student, and was afterwards ordained priest.

The reception of Mr. Bernard Smith caused considerable excitement in Catholic circles, but they were on the eve of much more exciting events. In order to lead up to these, we must once more call attention to the dates of the various events happening at Oxford.

Being freed from the restraining influence of Newman, the Romanising party led by W. G. Ward were able to pursue their own course, and, as expected, they went forward with startling rapidity. This was specially noticeable in their relations towards foreign Catholics, with whom they endeavoured to fraternise as much as possible when they visited France and Belgium. "Whatever our Tractarian friends may have been on this side of the Channel," writes Canon Oakeley,[1] "there could be no doubt of their perfect Catholicity on the other. It was, in fact, of so enthusiastic and demonstrative a character as to astonish the natives themselves, and sometimes even perhaps to shame them. Our friends used to distinguish themselves by making extraordinarily low bows to priests, and genuflecting, even in public places, to every one who looked the least like a bishop. In the churches they were always in a state of prostration or of ecstasy. Everything and everybody was charming; and such a contrast to England! Catholics might have their faults like other people, but even their faults were better than Protestant virtues. There was always a redeeming point even in their greatest misdemeanours; their acts of insobriety were far less offensive than those of Englishmen, and evidences of their Catholicity might be traced in their very oaths." Within a few weeks of the publication of Tract XC. there appeared in the French paper the *Univers*, the

[1] P. 73.

well-known letter written by Ward (translated into French by the latest recruit of the party, John Dobree Dalgairns, who was a native of Guernsey, and familiar with the French language) in which this view was emphasised. The writer described the Anglican Church as pining after re-union with Rome, looking upon their present separation as a judgment for sin, but for sin on both sides, and calling on both sides to do penance. The letter attracted considerable attention and drew forth an answer from Father Dominic, which was the beginning of an intimacy with Dalgairns and the Littlemore party generally.

The attitude expressed in this letter, however, was far from being adopted by the whole party. The Rev. William Palmer published his *Narrative of Events connected with Publication of the Tracts for the Times*, in which he drew a very different picture showing that two distinct parties—the Romanisers and anti-Romanisers—had found themselves within the Tractarian body. He also published in pamphlet form a series of Letters addressed to Dr. Wiseman; but throughout these Letters there was a bitter personal tone, and Dr. Wiseman thought it better to take no notice of any of them after the first. Frederick Lucas, however, who had always since the foundation of the *Tablet* shown his irritation at the paradoxical standpoint of the whole party, and spoken of the "uncompromising dishonesty" of their leaders, issued a note of warning that there was "a split among the Puseyites," some being very Roman, others the reverse. He criticised Dr. Wiseman's attitude as encouraging hopes which could never be fulfilled. Alluding to his last article in the *Dublin Review*, he said:—[1]

"In that article every word is of encouragement and hope, and not a line to tell us that the writers and supporters of the 'Tracts for the Times' are divided into two factions, whereof to all appearance the most numerous and influential is defending the use of the word Protestant as applicable to the Anglo-Catholic Church; is protesting against Rome with a great part of the vigour and candour of Exeter Hall; and is publicly denouncing the less influential portion of their Tractarian brethren for those very things upon which the Dublin Reviewer founds his hopes of a national conversion!"

[1] *Tablet*, November 4, 1843, p. 692.

And he added in characteristic language his own view about the evil caused by Dr. Wiseman's false hopes :—

"The baseless notions about Oxford and wholesale miraculous conversions," he wrote, "have done more than any single thing that could be named to divert the channel of Catholic exertion from those to whom it was first due—our own poor; and from those who next to them would have yielded the most abundant harvest—the poor of other or of no communions; to cocker up the silken vanity of respectable conversions, and a few barren, noisy, windy triumphs."

In 1844 the *British Critic* came to an end, and Mr. Ward, having no medium through which to answer Mr. Palmer, began to write a pamphlet; but it soon grew into a large book of 600 pages, developing a whole system to which he gave his adherence. This was no other than his famous *Ideal of a Christian Church*. It denotes the high-water mark to which the most extreme "Romanisers" of the party approximated; and indeed few if any of them would have accepted the full position which it advocated. The extraordinary nature of the views maintained was emphasised by the writer's love of startling and even paradoxical statements; but apart from the form in which it was cast, the matter was more than strange as coming from a clergyman of the Church of England. He began by stating at length what he considered were the true ideals for a Christian Church to aim at, and after deploring the entire want of endeavour of the Anglican Church to realise any such ideals, he put forth as the true remedy the pursuit of a line of conduct of which the only outcome would be that they would be "taught from above to discern and appreciate the plain marks of Divine wisdom and authority in the Roman Church, to repent in sorrow and bitterness of heart [their] great sin in deserting her communion, and to sue humbly at her feet for pardon and restoration".[1] In another passage he said frankly :[2] "I know no single movement in the Church except Arianism in the fourth century, which seems to me so wholly destitute of all claims on our sympathy and regard as the English Reformation".

He explained the position which he was advocating in the following plain and outspoken words :—[3]

[1] P. 473. [2] P. 45. [3] P. 68.

"That the phrase 'teaching of the Prayer Book' conveys a definite and important meaning, I do not deny; considering that it is mainly a selection from the Breviary, it is not surprising that the Prayer Book should on the whole breathe an uniform, most edifying, deeply orthodox spirit; a spirit which corresponds to one particular body of doctrine, and not to its contradictory. Again that the phrase 'Teaching of the Articles' conveys a definite meaning, I cannot deny; for (excepting the five first, which belong to the old school of Theology) they also breathe a uniform, intelligible spirit. But then these respective spirits are not different merely, but absolutely contradictory. As well could a student in the heathen schools have imbibed at once the Stoic and Epicurean philosophies, as could a humble member of our Church at the present time learn his Creed both from Prayer Book and Articles."

And again:—[1]

"Even were the formulas of our Church accordant instead of discordant, urgent instead of wavering, definite instead of vague, still so long as her practical teaching is in the highest degree uncertain, conflicting, and contradictory; when members of our Church seem hardly to agree in one matter of positive opinion that can be named except the purity of our Church; and when even as to that each party maintains that our Church would be most *im*pure if she taught doctrines which the other party strenuously contends she *does* teach; I can see no possible defence for the position that her formularies, in their *prima facie* bearing, demand implicit reception from her children. Surely until she is able so far to invigorate her discipline as that one and one only doctrine in essentials shall be taught within her pale, she can have no warrant in making this demand."

Putting this doctrine into practical application in his own case, he declared that he had subscribed the Articles in a "non-natural sense"—a phrase which he himself coined. He wrote as follows:—[2]

"Our twelfth Article [3] is as plain as words can make it

[1] P. 70. [2] P. 479.

[3] "XII. Albeit that Good Works which are the fruits of Faith and follow after justification cannot put away our sins and endure the severity of God's judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ and do spring

William George Ward

on the evangelical side; . . . of course I think its natural meaning may be explained away; for I subscribe it myself in a non-natural sense."

With respect to the result of the movement on the future we can quote two passages, as illustrating the contrast in his mind between the former inert and self-satisfied state of the Anglican Church and the regeneration hoped for from the movement. As to the former, he declared his belief[1] "that ever since the schism of the sixteenth century the English Church has been swayed by a spirit of arrogance, self-contentment, and self-complacency, resembling rather an absolute infatuation than the imbecility of ordinary pride, which has stifled her energies, crippled her resources, frustrated all the efforts of her most faithful children to raise her from her existing degradation".

But in another passage he gave full vent to his hopes as to the change that had already come about:—[2]

"What has been the result of this most pious and religious procedure? . . . The emptiness, hollowness, folly, laxity, unreality of English Protestantism has been held up to light as it never had been before; a frank and uncompromising defiance has been hurled against it; a whole range of ideas which had appeared to be finally banished from our theology have returned among us, with a constraining power and persuasiveness which we have never witnessed since the Reformation . . . while the principles which have been throughout the centre, rallying-point, and spring of the exertions that have been made,—these have so fruitfully expanded and germinated in the mind of many who had embraced them, that we find, oh most joyful, most wonderful, most unexpected sight! we find the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of English Churchmen."

He admitted indeed that certain practices and devotions in Catholic countries would be unsuitable in England; but further than this he would not go. As to their suitableness or not in themselves, he declared that he had not enough knowledge to form a judgment.

out necessarily of a true and lively Faith, insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit."

[1] P. 55. [2] P. 565.

The book, needless to say, caused a sensation. It was manifest that it must be dealt with by authority. Before the leaders of the Church of England could take action, they were anticipated by the University authorities. It was boldly proposed to declare by a vote of Convocation that Mr. Ward's action in subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles, while holding such opinions, was inconsistent with his good faith; and the punishment suggested was to take away his degree. The whole incident revived the question of Tract XC., which it was proposed also to condemn. The date fixed for hearing the case was February 13, 1845. It caused excitement from one end of the country to the other, and members of the University came up from all parts to attend the proceedings, and register their votes. The usual war of pamphlets and fly-leaves was carried on beforehand, by far the greater number being for Mr. Ward's condemnation, though a few in his favour—notably those by Keble himself and by Dr. Moberly [1]—carried great weight in virtue of the authoritative position of their authors.

The scene in the Sheldonian theatre has often been described. It is said that some fifteen hundred persons were present, every one of whom felt the gravity of the occasion. The proceedings were in Latin, but Mr. Ward was allowed to make his defence in English, and a very powerful defence, by common consent, it proved to be. Yet even on such an occasion, he seemed determined to be outspoken and to brave all consequences. His contention was that he was being tried for his honesty in signing the Articles while holding certain views, but that the views themselves were not directly concerned. Yet he continually added incidentally such remarks as "I renounce no one Roman doctrine"; "I subscribed the Articles in a non-natural sense," and the like, which must have grated on the ears of his hearers, and prejudiced his chances. In the event, his condemnation was carried by 777 votes to 391; and his degradation by the smaller majority of 569 to 511. When the consideration of Tract XC. came on, it was vetoed by the Proctors, and the proceedings ended.

Throughout his trial Ward was supported by his friend Mr. Oakeley, who stood by him in the Rostrum. Dr. Pusey was also present as one of his supporters, and other personal

[1] Then Head Master of Winchester, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

friends as Jowett and Stanley, who did not afterwards become Catholics, and Henry Edward Manning, James Spencer Northcote, and Richard Gell Macmullen, who did. Mr. Gladstone also voted in favour of Ward, it is said with special emphasis. The other Fellows of Balliol also supported their confrère, and his cause was popular among the undergraduates; but those who held positions in the Establishment, the majority of whom came from a distance, for the most part voted on the other side. Even Mr. Tait, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, though a personal friend of Mr. Ward, voted against him on the first count, though in his favour on the second.

Later in the day Ward met Archdeacon Manning in Dr. Pusey's rooms, and began an acquaintance which was to become a friendship of many years—which lasted, in fact, to the end of his life.

At first it seemed that after this Mr. Ward and those who felt with him would be forced to re-consider their position; but time passed away, and everything seemed to go on as usual. Newman remained at Littlemore still engaged on his "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine," and he did not break silence. A few weeks later it was announced that Mr. Ward was about to be married; and one of his warmest supporters, who had travelled all the way from the West of England to vote in his favour, declared that if he had anticipated this, he would never have come. Ward, however, with his usual logic, had an answer ready, which he forthwith wrote to *The Times*. Certainly, he said, he had upheld celibacy as a higher state than marriage; but he had never considered himself called to that higher state; and when he offered himself for Ordination he had done so knowing that the Anglican Church did not *de facto* insist on celibacy for her clergy. In private, however, he went further, and admitted that he did not believe in Anglican Orders, and did not consider himself a priest.

Such a frame of mind in one who still professed himself a clergyman of the Church of England sounds to us strange; but in truth his mind was working steadily and even rapidly towards a goal which was by this time inevitable. On August 28 there appeared a letter from him in the *Oxford Herald* in which he definitely announced that he was about to be received into the Catholic Church. And he defended his logical

consistency as ever. For he said that two considerations had formed the basis of the whole structure of his belief in the Anglican Church: one being the signs of holiness within that body, and the fact that the teaching handed down for three hundred years had germinated into "the whole cycle of Roman doctrine," which was then allowed free scope for development; the other being that those who were pioneers of a stricter life within her communion found their own faith in her proportionately strengthened. Both these considerations had now, he said, fallen to the ground. The holding of Roman doctrine had been authoritatively checked; and it was known that Newman and his friends at Littlemore were oppressed with doubts. Hence, he concludes, "Those who thought the arguments adduced in my work in defence of our position satisfactory (as I now do not think them) cannot any longer rest upon them; for whatever force they once had is come to an end".

Mr. and Mrs. Ward were received into the Church by Rev. James Brownbill, S.J., at the Jesuit house in Bolton Street, London, on September 5, 1845.

During the progress of these events, Dr. Wiseman in the *Dublin Review* kept silent, no doubt thinking this course more considerate to the persons concerned and more likely to help on the end which he so ardently longed for. Frederick Lucas in the *Tablet* took an opposite course. At the time of the degradation of Mr. Ward, he ridiculed the whole proceeding, which he headed "The Oxford Farce". He declared that he himself believed that Mr. Ward was sincere, in that he had made himself a "false conscience"; but that it was perfectly intelligible that those who did not know him might consider "sincerity not to be his strong point".

When, however, six months later Mr. Ward's letter appeared in the *Oxford Herald*, Lucas wrote in the *Tablet* congratulating him on his conversion; but he criticised with some energy the state of mind through which he and his late companions had allowed themselves to pass, and complained of his anxiety to defend his past conduct, which Lucas maintained to have been essentially inconsistent.

A fortnight later the following paragraph appeared in the *Tablet*:—

"That Mr. Newman will speedily declare himself a convert, we steadfastly believe, and are of opinion that he no longer desires his intention should be kept secret. He is preparing reasons, etc., for the press, and we are assured will unequivocally retract his former errors."

This statement was in fact premature, but events soon pressed Newman forward. Even his own community at Littlemore began to break up; Dalgairns was received into the Church by Father Dominic at Aston Hall on September 29; Ambrose St. John followed his example at Prior Park three days later. Richard Stanton, who was also away on a holiday, wrote declaring his intention of being received at Stonyhurst, and in reply Newman invited him to return so that they might be received together by Father Dominic, who, having been summoned to Belgium for a general chapter, was to call at Littlemore on his way.

The scene of that October day has been too often described to need more than a bare reference here—the arrival of the friar at Oxford on the top of the coach at ten o'clock on that drenching night; the silent journey with Dalgairns and St. John to Littlemore; Newman's act of submission and his midnight general confession; and the solemn reception of himself, together with the residue of his community—Messrs. Bowles and Stanton—the following day, October 9, 1845.

The results of such an event were obviously impossible to calculate at the moment. The Catholic body were deeply moved, and we may perhaps conclude this chapter by quoting from the article in a typical Catholic periodical, in which we see clearly depicted both the charitable good wishes towards the new converts, and the inability to understand the frame of mind through which they had passed, which was characteristic of the hereditary Catholics:—[1]

"Rejoicing heartily with the brethren who have lately had the happiness of joining us, we refrain from announcing the changes of opinion of private individuals until they themselves shall have seen fit to declare them to the public. The adoption of one form of religious belief instead of another is, in a private individual, an act with which journalists have no more right to

[1] *Dolman's Magazine*, November, 1845, p. 396.

interfere than they have with any other of the concerns of private life. Suffice it to say that in all about fifty persons, the greater part of whom were esteemed highly talented members of the English Established Church, have acknowledged the worthlessness of Anglican and Tractarian opinions, and have been received into the communion of the Catholic Church.

"Mr. Newman, however, is not a private individual. He has been so long known to the world as the leader of the party which is now being so rapidly broken up, that we owe it to the cause of truth to record his submission to authority; and sure we are that he himself would wish to give it whatever influence may attach to his name and convictions.

"That the author of Tract XC. should have, at length, found that sure and certain rest must rejoice every Catholic; that a man of his abilities, of his coolness, of his pertinacity in error (if we may use the words without offence), of his evident unwillingness to surrender Anglicanism—that such a man should have been compelled to acknowledge the oneness of faith, ought to confound every thinking follower of Protestantism of whatever shade. Every shade of it appeals more or less to private judgment; he one of themselves, predisposed by every tie to decide in their favour—has judged their claims, has measured them, has weighed them, and has found them wanting.

"Most sincerely and unaffectedly do we tender our congratulations to our brethren of Oxford that their eyes have been opened to the evils of private judgment, and consequent necessity of curbing its multiform extravagance."

CHAPTER XXI.

THE OXFORD CONVERTS (*continued*).

WITH the two most active members—Newman, the original leader of the movement, and Ward, who had to some extent succeeded him on his retirement[1]—both gone from the Anglican Church, it was hardly to be expected that the party would hold together much longer, and the succeeding months showed a steady flow of converts, clergymen and others, who were received into the Catholic Church. The *Directory* for 1846 enumerates thirty-one already received when it went to press, most of whom have since become well known by their work as Catholics; and at the time it was printed the stream of conversions was still in full progress.

During all this time the scene at Oscott became very animated, and for a time it almost looked as though Dr. Wiseman's hopes were going to be realised. There was a constant arrival of clergymen and others who came either to be received into the Church, or having already been received, to be confirmed by Dr. Wiseman, or to reside for a short time in order to obtain their initiation into Catholic life and practices. Arrangements were made to fit up rooms in the Pugin lodge, or in cottages in the close neighbourhood, for the accommodation of those who were married. The Rev. George Spencer found himself quite in his element, and the Rev. Henry Logan resigned his office as Vice-President, in order to become a kind of guest-master, and devote himself to the new converts.

The first to come were Mr. and Mrs. Ward, who were confirmed by Dr. Wiseman on Sunday, September 14, before High Mass, together with Mrs. Campbell Smith, also a convert, her husband having been received some months before. The

[1] Dean Bradley wrote, "Ward succeeded Dr. Newman as their acknowledged leader" (*Recollections of A. P. Stanley*, p. 65).

occasion was sufficiently noteworthy to bring together several distinguished visitors, and amongst those who assisted were two well-known convert clergymen—Hon. George (afterwards Monsignor) Talbot and Bernard Smith (afterwards Canon), who were both living at Oscott, studying theology, in preparation for Ordination. On the same day two other convert clergymen were received into the Church—Revv. George Montgomery and John Moore Capes. By a curious coincidence they had both been at Littlemore consulting Newman on the same day, though independently of one another; and both receiving similar advice, referring them to Dr. Wiseman, were not a little astonished to meet each other in the evening at Oscott.

In the following month the news of the reception of Newman and his companions reached the College, and soon afterwards that of Frederick Oakeley; and all of them came to Oscott at the end of the month for Confirmation.

It was perhaps a foregone conclusion that Oakeley would follow his intimate friend, W. G. Ward, with whom he had so closely identified himself. Nevertheless, his conversion came about through independent circumstances, which would probably in any case have led to it. His opinions were well known, and the fact that he adhered to Mr. Ward's most extreme positions, and he now took the course of calling attention to his views, and offering to accept the consequences whatever they might be. He has himself explained the motive of his action. "The object I had in view in drawing the attention of the University to my own case," he wrote, "was to reopen the question of the incompatability of an academical degree with opinions held in common by Mr. Ward and myself, in the hope of practically reversing a sentence passed, as I believed, under excitement. I had the cause, not myself, in view." His offer was accepted, not as he had anticipated by the University of Oxford, but by the Bishop of London, who instituted a suit against him in the Court of Arches, with a view to depriving him of his living. Mr. Oakeley took this as an indication that there was no longer any place for him within the Anglican communion, and resigned. The Bishop, however, wishing that the whole matter should come before the Court, refused to accept his resignation, and the case proceeded; but

Contemporary Skit on Littlemore and Oscott

as Mr. Oakeley did not defend himself, judgment went by default. He retired, and in the course of the month of October he paid a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Ward, then living near Oxford, and on the 29th of that month he was received into the Church there by Rev. Robert Newsham, S.J.

The group of converts who were assembled at Oscott on the feast of All Saints was a remarkable one. "We had ten *quondam* Anglican clergymen in the chapel," wrote Wiseman; "has this ever happened before since the Reformation?" It was before High Mass on that day that Newman received the Sacrament of Confirmation, together with Ambrose St. John, John Walker, and Frederick Oakeley. On the previous Sunday John Dalgairns, Richard Stanton, and Frederick Bowles had received the same rite. The occasions were kept private; but the events could not fail to make a deep impression on the members of the College, and through them on Catholic England. In the *Orthodox Journal* for December, 1845,[1] a letter appeared which though written by one who signed himself "a Convert of Nine Years' Standing" expressed much what the old Catholics were feeling. It was really an appeal for prayers for the Conversion of England. "The movement is assuredly only in its commencement," he wrote; "but I cannot help feeling that we Catholics have too often shown ourselves unworthy of the great mercies which have been poured upon us. Surely these first fruits ought to urge us to greater fervour and diligence than we have hitherto exhibited. Above all, let us be instant in prayer for the conversion of our country. Recent events have given a palpable token of the efficacy of prayer. Woe be to us if we do not persevere. . . . We have gained a few: many more remain behind. Perhaps this may be to urge us to persevere in prayer. The harvest is ready: only a few ripe shocks have as yet been gathered. Let us join then one and all in daily and special supplication for this desirable object. Above all, let us not in our private prayers shrink from petitioning in favour of individuals by name. May I suggest one worthy of veneration and which I have rarely omitted; one that all must respect, all must wish well to—there is a want among the returned pilgrims without him which all must deplore. Reader, may

[1] P. 288.

I recommend to your good prayers by name—that of Dr. Pusey?"

The concluding hope in the above was, alas, not destined to be realised. Dr. Pusey lived and died in the Anglican Church, and never succeeded in overcoming his prejudices against what he with others looked upon as the "corruptions of Rome".

After his Confirmation Newman went for a tour through England, to make the acquaintance of his new co-religionists, visiting the Bishops in the North, and likewise the chief places of Catholic education throughout the country—Stonyhurst, Ushaw, St. Edmund's, and Prior Park. The College at Ushaw was then going through a period of prosperity and development, under its best-known president, Dr. Charles Newsham. Owing to its geographical position, at the extreme north of the country, it necessarily played a smaller part in the stirring events of those days than Colleges such as Oscott and Prior Park, which were more accessible; but Dr. Newsham himself impressed all the converts—Newman included—more than any other old Catholic of his day. St. Edmund's also, notwithstanding its proximity to London, did not at first take any great part in the movement. For this the retiring and conservative traditions of Dr. Griffiths and Dr. Cox were mainly responsible. Frederick Oakeley indeed went through his theological course there, and a little later W. G. Ward settled in the neighbourhood of the College, where he built himself a small house. But in the early stages of the movement at least, the "Edmundians" were not greatly concerned with what was going on. When W. G. Ward first visited the College, before his conversion, he found them all kind enough, but uninterested; and the only person who gave him any sympathy was Rev. Robert Whitty, a cousin of Frederick Lucas, then a young priest who had come from Maynooth to St. Edmund's to complete his theological studies. He was a man of quite an unusual stamp, and was afterwards Dr. Wiseman's Vicar-General. Newman in his turn was also captivated by him. "Mr. Whitty is one of the most striking men I have seen," he wrote. "I hope I see him as he is, for a more winning person I have not met with."

Newman wrote, however, that "there cannot be greater con-

trasts than are presented by Oscott, Prior Park, and Old Hall"; and he described what he called the "set out" at Prior Park. After Oscott, it was the chief centre for the converts to go to. We have already mentioned the reception of Ambrose St. John there; in the month of December three prominent men were also received by Dr. Brindle—Rev. Robert Aston Coffin, Vicar of St. Mary Magdalen's, Oxford, afterwards Provincial of the Redemptorists, and finally Bishop of Southwark, at whose reception on St. Francis Xavier's day Newman assisted; Rev. Edgar Estcourt, afterwards Canon of Birmingham, whose book on Anglican Orders was long the standard one on the subject; and Rev. Richard Simpson, the future editor of the *Rambler*. The Bishop of the Western District, then living at the College, was Dr. Baggs, who had been Wiseman's Vice-Rector at Rome, and afterwards his successor as Rector; and he seems to have inherited his wideness of view and breadth of sympathy. For many years the staff of the College was largely made up of converts. Among the most prominent of these was James Spencer Northcote, formerly curate of Ilfracombe. Being a married man, with a family, it seemed as though he was debarred from the priesthood; but his wife died in 1853, and he was afterwards ordained. In this manner it came about that he had the unusual experience when President of Oscott of having his son among the students; and at another period of his life he was chaplain to a community of nuns at Stoke-on-Trent, among whom his daughter was a member.

On his return from his tour Newman went back to Littlemore to make the necessary arrangements for his final departure. This took place on February 23, 1846, when he went to Old Oscott, which he had accepted from Dr. Wiseman as a temporary home. He brought with him five of his friends, who made an informal community not unlike that at Littlemore. He re-christened the place Maryvale, the name by which it is still known at the present day.

During Newman's tour another event happened which caused no small stir in ecclesiastical circles. This was the reception of Frederick Faber, which took place at Northampton on November 17, 1845. He was at that time rector at the little village of Elton, in Huntingdonshire. He had been living there not much over two years; but during that short

space of time he had accomplished wonders in the reformation of the parish, and had achieved it by completely "catholicising" his church, to a degree which at that time had hardly been known. For his devotional life was fully modelled on that with which he had become acquainted in his travels through Catholic countries, and which his highly strung poetical nature appreciated to the full. After every succeeding visit of his to the Continent he returned with these impressions strengthened. When he first went abroad in 1839, he had not shaken off the insular sentiment which so frequently possesses an Englishman who has not before left his own country, and he himself tells us that his feelings at first were mixed. But by the year 1841, when he made a prolonged tour, this feeling had completely worn off, and given place to an unstinted admiration, which shows itself throughout the pages of his *Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches*, which he wrote on his return. It was this book of his which first brought him across Dr. Wiseman, with whom he found fault for having in his Lectures on Holy Week described the Church's liturgy as "dramatic". A correspondence ensued between them, as one result of which Wiseman gave him letters of introduction to Cardinal Acton and his secretary Dr. Grant—afterwards Rector of the English College, later still first Bishop of Southwark. By means of these letters when Faber visited Rome again in 1843—before taking up his residence at Elton—he became acquainted with Catholic practice and Catholic ethos with a closeness which he never had before, and he fully appreciated the opportunity. "It is quite impossible for anyone to be disappointed in Rome," he wrote during this visit.[1] "You walk through the streets—here stood the centurion's house, and beneath that church St. Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles —there St. Ignatius shed his blood—from that pulpit St. Thomas of Aquino preached—in that room St. Francis slept—in that house St. Dominic first began his order—in that shabby Basilica Pope Zosimus heard and judged Celestius, and condemned the Pelagian heresy—beneath that tomb are the relics of St. Peter and St. Paul—in yonder church five famous councils were held—in those catacombs are the bones of the nameless martyrs known to God only—and so one might go

[1] *Life and Letters*, p. 185.

on. Some of the traditions may be incorrect, many are clearly not so, and withal if the locality be wrongly fixed, the city itself somewhere must contain the true one."

And again he wrote:—[1]

"The interest of Rome is something inconceivable, even to one so little interested in art as I am. It is quite different from any place I have ever been at; I bless God that there is such a place on the surface of this sinful earth. What piety, humility, self-sacrifice, saintly grandeur have I not come across with awful admonitions of history, and monuments of faith! I feel as if I should like to satisfy my feelings by walking barefoot and bareheaded in the streets, as one would do around the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, so present does God seem in this mysterious city."

The "festa" of St. Philip occurred during his stay, and he has left us an account of the rise and development of his early devotion to that saint, and his first visits to the "Chiesa Nuova," and the little room adjoining, in which the saint used to say his Mass. "How little," he writes, "did I, a Protestant stranger, in that room years ago, dream I should ever be of the Saint's family, or that the Oratorian Father who showed it me should in a few years be appointed by the Pope the novice-master of the English Oratorians. I remember how when he kissed the glass of the case in which St. Philip's little bed is kept as a relic, he apologised to me as a Protestant, lest I should be scandalised, and told me with a smile how tenderly St. Philip's children loved their father. I was not scandalised with their relic-worship then; but I can understand better now what he said about the love, the childlike love, wherewith St. Philip inspired his sons."

Finally at the end of his stay in Rome, Cardinal Acton procured for him the privilege of a private audience with the Pope, who spoke to him of the salvation of his soul being the one chief end to which all else must be subordinated. We cannot be surprised that he was at this time on the point of becoming a Catholic. On two separate occasions, he tells us, he took up his hat to go to the English College and beg to be received into the Church, and on each occasion he was prevented by some trifling chance from carrying out his project.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

In truth, however, his mind was going through a period of trial and difficulty, and was not yet ripe for such a step: so he returned to England and to Elton to continue his work in the Anglican Church; but he afterwards admitted that his whole outlook had been changed by his visit to Rome.

We can now see that this was only a phase, and that his days in the Anglican communion were in fact numbered. The crisis was precipitated by the reception of Newman, immediately after which he opened up a correspondence with Bishop Wareing, with a view to being received into the Church; and resigning his living he left Elton for good on the morning of Monday, November 17. Notwithstanding the short time he had lived there, he had become extraordinarily beloved by his congregation, and although he fixed his departure early in the morning they were all up to take farewell of him. Seven of his parishioners accompanied him, as well as Mr. Thomas Knox, a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, afterwards the well-known Oratorian, and two servants. That evening they were all received into the Church by Bishop Wareing, who also confirmed them the following day.

Mr. Faber and his seven companions took up their residence in Birmingham, where they hired a house in Caroline Street, and formed themselves into a little community, under the direction of the Rev. John Moore, of St. Chad's Cathedral. Their position was somewhat peculiar, for Mr. Faber realised that he was now a layman, so that there was no priest in the community, and the seven whom he brought with him were to be lay brothers—as yet the community had no choir members except Mr. Faber himself—and, moreover, they were all novices in the Catholic faith. They did some excellent work, however, and the fervent and regular life which they led, and the simplicity in which they lived, without the most ordinary comforts, or even necessaries, was the admiration of those who visited them. At the beginning with an instinct characteristic of converts, they wished to show themselves in the streets dressed in their cassocks; but Mr. Moore wisely forbade this practice, which would at that date have soon created a strong prejudice against them; and as it was, they worked among the poor with freedom and zeal, without arousing any

questions of religious prejudice or causing any anti-Catholic demonstrations in the streets.

Early in the following year Faber went to Rome in company with William Hutchison, a convert of Trinity College, Cambridge, in order to obtain a formal sanction to a rule for his new community. He called them after his own favourite devotion and his patron saint, "Brothers of the Will of God of the Congregation of St. Wilfrid," and they were commonly spoken of as "Wilfridians". They were to take simple vows. The choir brothers were to become priests and to be at the disposal of the Bishop at all times for any work which he might entrust to them. The lay brothers were to devote themselves to the necessary manual labour, and use the time which was over for works of charity among the poor.

This was of course Faber's first visit to Rome as a Catholic, and we can well understand what it must have meant to him. He arrived on the eve of Palm Sunday, just in time to assist at the Holy Week ceremonies. He spoke of being "steeped in Catholicism". Dr. Grant had now become Rector of the English College, and he invited Faber and his companion to stay there during their visit. By his influence, together with Cardinal Acton, Faber obtained all he wished, and returned to Birmingham with an approved rule, arriving there before the middle of May.

Two converts now joined the congregation—Mr. Hutchison, who had accompanied Faber to Rome, and Henry Austin Mills, another Cambridge convert. After a short time, owing to a difference of opinion, the community ceased to be under the direction of Rev. John Moore, and transferred themselves to that of Rev. H. Heneage of Erdington.

In the summer of 1846 the community moved into a larger house, and it is noteworthy that they called in Pugin to decorate the room which they made their chapel. Pugin had formed high hopes of the Oxford Tractarians, and was enthusiastic about all the late conversions, while Faber, on his part, still looked upon Gothic architecture as essentially Catholic, and a sign of continuity with the old English Church.

Before the summer was out, a further important development had taken place. The Earl of Shrewsbury formed a great admiration for the new community, and asked them to

settle in his neighbourhood, where he undertook to provide for them. If they preferred to live in a town, he was prepared to give them a valuable site adjoining Pugin's beautiful church at Cheadle, then approaching completion; but as an alternative, he offered them a property and mansion which he had purchased, called Cotton Hall. The latter offer was accepted, and the community moved there early in September. Once more Pugin was called to their assistance, and he designed the Church of St. Wilfrid, adjoining the mansion.

Within a few days of the departure of Mr. Faber and his companions from Birmingham, Newman's little community at Maryvale broke up, Newman himself, in company with Ambrose St. John, setting out for Rome, where they were to enter the College of Propaganda and prepare for the priesthood. Faber was ordained priest at Oscott on Holy Saturday, 1847, without having had any systematic preparation—for he was always superior of his own community—but it was considered that his character and personal history were in themselves a sufficient training.

Among the other Oxford converts of those years may be mentioned George Tickell, Fellow of University College, and Albany Christie, Fellow of Oriel, who both joined the Society of Jesus; John Walker of Brazenose, afterwards Canon of Westminster; and Rev. William Wingfield of Christchurch, a married man; these all came over in 1845. In the list for the following year we find Rev. J. Brande Morris, Fellow of Exeter, who after staying some time at Oscott, was eventually a Canon of Plymouth; Rev. George Dudley Ryder of Oriel, son of the Bishop of Lichfield, and father of Henry Ignatius Dudley Ryder, who was Newman's successor as Superior of the Birmingham Oratorians; Rev. George Burder of Magdalen, son of a Congregationalist minister, who became a Cistercian and was for a time Abbot of Mount St. Bernard; Henry Formby of Brazenose; Rev. J. G. Wenham of Magdalen, afterwards Provost of Southwark; Rev. David Lewis, Fellow of Jesus; Rev. J. D. Hilarius Dale of Oriel, the author of the well-known translation of Baldeschi's Ceremonial; Rev. Joseph Gordon of Brazenose; and we may also add the name of James Toovey the publisher, who had brought out the chief books and pamphlets of the Tractarians. In the following year again

(1847) we have to mention the Rev. Edward Caswall of Brazenose, the Oratorian poet and hymn-writer, who was received in Rome; Rev. William P. Neville of Trinity, Newman's secretary and literary executor; Rev. Richard Gell Macmullen, Fellow of Corpus, afterwards Canon of Westminster; Thomas Gordon of Christchurch, the future Superior of the London Oratory; and in 1848 we find John E. Bowden of Trinity, who joined the Oratory. In 1850 at last Henry Wilberforce, whose conversion Newman had so long hoped for, was received into the Church; and in the same year Rev. William Anderdon of University College, Manning's cousin; Edward Purbrick of Christchurch, who joined the Jesuits and was at one time Rector of Stonyhurst; Rev. T. W. Allies, well known as for more than thirty years secretary of the Poor School Committee, and author of several well-known books, and Rev. Frederick Trenow, of St. John's, who became a Dominican.[1]

Nor was the movement confined wholly to Oxford. Among the Cambridge converts,[2] in addition to those already alluded to, may be named Rev. Edward Healy Thompson of Emmanuel, whose writings are well known to us (1846); James Boone Rowe of St. John's (1845); Benjamin Butland of Trinity (1844); Henry Bacchus of Corpus Christi (1846); Rev. Francis Laing of Queens' (1846); John Morris of Trinity (1846), and Thomas Bridgett of St. John's (1850), the two last named being afterwards so well known among the Jesuits and Redemptorists respectively.

The conversion of John Morris caused considerable excitement owing to the unusual circumstances with which it was accompanied.[3] He was prepared for Cambridge by no less a man than Henry Alford, then Vicar of Wymesfold, near

[1] The further influx of convert clergymen which followed the decision in the well-known Gorham case in 1851, and who included in their number Henry Edward Manning, falls outside the limit of date of this book.

[2] The disproportion of numbers between Oxford and Cambridge converts, though considerable, was less than is often supposed. In Mr. W. Gordon Gorman's well-known book, *Converts to Rome*, he enumerates 586 from Oxford and 346 from Cambridge. Oxford boasts in recent times of two Cardinals (Manning and Newman), one diocesan Bishop (Dr. Coffin of Southwark), and one titular Bishop (Dr. Patterson); Cambridge of one Cardinal (Acton), one diocesan Bishop (Dr. Brownlow of Clifton), and one titular Bishop (Dr. Stanley). Of the above, however, Cardinal Acton, though a Cambridge man, was not a convert.

[3] See his *Life* by Rev. J. H. Pollen, S.J.

Loughborough, who acquired considerable influence over him by his High Church views. It was during his residence at Wymesfold that Morris made the acquaintance of Pugin, who was employed by Alford in the restoration of his church, and who on one occasion brought with him his friend Ambrose Lisle Phillipps. The latter in turn asked his hosts to return the visit, and while staying at Grace Dieu to accompany him to Mount St. Bernard's Abbey. They accepted the invitation, and the sight of the monastic life made a deep impression on young Morris. When he went to Cambridge and entered at Trinity, he fell under the influence of Frederick Apthorpe Paley, whose pupil he was, and whose views were still more "advanced" than Alford's. Eventually he felt it his duty to be received into the Church, and profiting by a chance meeting with Bishop Wareing, who was on a visit to Cambridge, he made all arrangements and was received at Northampton on May 20, 1846. There was, however, this special feature in the case, that his father, having been absent some years in India, was then on his way home, and young Morris was unwilling to break the news of his change of faith to his mother—who he knew would be deeply pained—until his father had arrived. He had at first contemplated putting off his reception until then, but realising that he had a duty to God in this matter, he made the simple suggestion that his conversion should be kept secret for the few weeks before his father's arrival; and to this Bishop Wareing assented. Accordingly no one was informed but Alford, Paley, and one other. Alford, however, with his strong anti-Roman feelings, found himself unable to keep the secret, and the fact of Morris's change of faith became known. In the excited state in which the British public then were on the matter of conversions to Catholicism, it is hardly surprising that the whole case caused considerable stir, and led to a correspondence in *The Times* in which the language used was by no means temperate. It was said that Bishop Wareing had given Morris a dispensation to "sham Protestantism"; and Paley was boldly accused of misusing his position to proselytise. This accusation seems to have pushed him forward, for shortly afterwards Paley was himself received into the Church; and as the feeling was so strong, he decided to leave Cambridge, and he accepted a post as

tutor to Bertram Talbot, son and heir to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Here the incident ended for the time; but it was not forgotten, and was revived with some bitterness a few years later, at the time of the so-called "Papal Aggression".

Before concluding our list we should perhaps mention one or two others who though not members of either university, may nevertheless be fairly reckoned among the fruits of the Oxford Movement. Such, for example, were Eric Leslie, who became a Jesuit, and Rev. Thomas William Wilkinson, who was a Harrow boy and afterwards M.A. of Durham, and after his conversion became Bishop of Hexham and President of Ushaw. These two were among the last survivors of the converts of those early days.

The reception of so many clergymen who had in consequence to resign their livings necessarily led to difficulties of a financial nature, and it is no small tribute to their earnestness of purpose that they were found willing to face serious consequences for the sake of conscience. Those who were not married, and who felt called to the ecclesiastical state were at least able to find provision for their support, and were saved from serious anxiety though even in such cases they often had to live on a very reduced income. There were, however, many who by being married were precluded from such a future and had their families to support, and there were others who for various reasons did not feel called to the ecclesiastical state. Some of these had to face positions of actual want, and there were many instances of great hardship.

In conclusion it will be convenient also to add here the names of other converts of this epoch, who were not connected with the Oxford Movement, but who afterwards became well known—the Earl of Denbigh, the Earl of Gainsborough, Lady Georgiana Fullerton, Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Bowyer, William Monsell (afterwards Lord Emly), Sir Stuart Knill, Sir John Simeon, the Duchess of Norfolk,[1] etc.

[1] The daughter of Lord Lyons, wife of the fourteenth Duke of Norfolk and mother of the present holder of the title.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE IRISH FAMINE.

BEFORE returning to the general narrative, we must make a further pause and devote a short space to the consideration of a chapter of Irish history which in reality affected the future of Catholicism in this country more even than the Oxford Movement; for it was the influx of Irish in 1846 and the following years which made our congregations what they are, and led to the multiplication of missions. Up to that time the English Catholics relied for the building of their churches almost solely on the donations of the few hereditary Catholics and others of the upper classes; after the great Irish immigration it became possible to build from the pennies of the poor. Many missions owe their very existence, including serviceable churches and schools, to the large Irish congregations. If any proof be wanted of the importance of the immigration, it is only necessary to cast our eyes on those parts of England, as for example East Anglia, whither the Irish hardly penetrated, and to see the desolate state of those counties so far as the Catholic religion is concerned. Even in Lancashire and the Northern Counties generally, where the number of English Catholics was far greater than in other parts of the country, the congregations were largely increased and many new missions established, due in many cases in great measure to the influx of Irish immigrants.

The description of the extreme destitution and appalling misery with which the face of Ireland was covered during those sad years belongs to a history of Irish rather than of English Catholics. Our task is rather to trace the results which followed here in England. But it is impossible to pass so close to the sufferings of those with whom we have such reason for fellow-feeling without pausing to consider what they were going through at this time, and to express our sympathy

with them in their misfortunes. And this is the more necessary because at the time, though there was plenty of sympathy on the part of the English Catholics, misunderstandings arose, which will be detailed in the newspaper correspondence between some of their leaders and the Irish Bishops, in the second half of this chapter, which for a time seriously endangered the good understanding between the Catholics of the two countries, and was one of the chief causes which led to the controversy about the Diplomatic Relations Bill, which will be described in a future chapter.

The famine began with the failure of the potato crop in 1845, from which it was predicted at once that extreme want would make itself felt among the peasantry in the following spring and summer. This in due course came to pass, but it was hardly more than the beginning of evils. The crop failed again in 1846, worse than before, and the effect of the two-fold failure in successive years was disastrous.

In order to form any notions of the sufferings which followed, we must bear in mind the kind of life which the Irish peasantry lived. Their mud cottages or cabins are part of Irish history. In the course of the debate in the House of Commons, a member gave some statistics of County Mayo, which he took as a typical one, which are interesting and instructive. In round numbers, in an acreage of one and a third million, there were over 300 good houses, 3,000 farm-houses, 22,000 cottages built of mud, but possessing windows, a chimney, and more than one room, and no less than 40,000 mud cabins with neither window nor chimney. Thus nearly two-thirds of the population lived in this latter class of habitation. Their standard of living was correspondingly low, potatoes or turnips being their staple food, the great majority never tasting any other. But this was not to them a subject of grievance. The Irish labourer would be content to live in a hovel and to feed on potatoes provided that these could be regularly secured for him. The evil of their state, to which they could never accustom themselves, was their absolute helplessness at the hands of their landlords, who were of a different race and of a different religion from themselves; so that the natural sympathetic relation between the two classes became difficult, or even impossible. The farmers depended on

their landlords for their possession of the farms, the labourers depended on them for their cottages or cabins, the class known as the cottier tenants for their small holdings, which they were permitted to cultivate for themselves in lieu of receiving wages. Of course there were good landlords as well as bad, and the lot of one who depended on a good landlord was tolerable for the time; but at best it was insecure. The landlord might at any time die, or sell his property, and be succeeded by another of very opposite quality. A large proportion of the landlords were absentees, and the agent's chief duty being to collect rents in as great quantity as possible for his employer, his relations with the tenants were not ordinarily characterised by great humanity. In all these cases the labourer felt helpless. There was no alternative industry in the country, and practically he had no choice but to live and die in the locality where he was born. When evicted from his holding, he had no place to go to, and no alternative but to die of starvation by the road-side; and when this happened, he suffered the more from the thought of the injustice and inhumanity of which he was the victim.

It is not intended here to make any estimate as to what proportion of the actual evictions which followed on the famine were unjust: it is admitted on all hands that many were so, and that is sufficient for our purpose, for the very name came to stand for cruelty and inhumanity. It is matter of history that when the famine was at its height, people were dying daily by the road-side, either of starvation or of the fever bred by the famine. In many cases the deaths came too quickly to enable decent burials to be carried out, while the fact of the fever being contagious often caused the victims to be deserted by every one save only the priest. The charity of the Irish clergy rose to the occasion. They were continually among their people, encouraging them, consoling them, and ministering to them in their last moments. Many of the clergy themselves became victims to the disease, and ended their lives as martyrs of charity.

When the famine first threatened, the British Government were strangely slow to see the coming evil, and their initial procrastination produced a bad effect at the outset. When they did move, the measures taken were inadequate. The

vote of £450,000 to be laid out on public works to give employment to the peasantry, and the supply of some cargoes of Indian corn was better than nothing, but failed to meet the exigencies of the situation. In fact, Sir Robert Peel, who was then Prime Minister, was more concerned with the deplorable agrarian outrages which were unhappily rife, and the protection of the lives and properties of the landlords than about the misfortunes of the peasantry; or at least he considered that such outrages ought to be put down before remedial measures could be safely tried. He brought in a bill, which he admitted to be "of a coercive nature," for the suppression of crime. The chief feature of the bill was that the Lord Lieutenant was to be empowered to "proclaim" certain districts for any length of time which he might think fit, and while under such proclamation some very stringent laws could be enforced, as for example that all those living in that district must not be out at night, and other similar provisions.

Sir Robert Peel, however, had mistaken the temper of the House of Commons, and it was the motion for the second reading of this bill which led to the defeat of his Government, and his own resignation. Thus it came about that when Lord John Russell came into office, in July, 1846, he found the state of Ireland critical. Not only was nothing being then done to relieve it, but valuable time had been lost with little to show for it but the abortive Coercion Bill.

The new Prime Minister promptly faced the situation, and brought in a bill to employ the people on public works, under the direction of Government. The bill was rapidly passed through both Houses, and brought into operation. In November there were already 150,000 in regular employment under the Board of Works, and a few weeks later the number had risen to close on half a million, the wages bill being at this time no less than £800,000 a month—a tangible proof that the Government were in real earnest.

Even this great and even unprecedented effort, however, did not fully meet the needs of the case. Moreover, the administration of the Act was not free from defects, as Lord John Russell himself admitted in his speech in the House of Commons in the following January. "Abuses in so extensive a system," he said, "were inevitable. Trustworthy persons

could not always be found for servants; farmers, their sons, and workpeople by no means destitute, improperly obtained employment on the works." The result was a feeling of distrust in the country. The shortcomings of the Act appealed to the imagination more than its benefits. Under misfortunes of this kind the natural instinct is to blame the Authorities, and the idea became prevalent that the British Government was failing in its duty. This feeling became so confirmed that the people commonly spoke as though the Ministers were waging a war of extermination against them. With unconscious humour the Coroners' juries would bring in verdicts of wilful murder against Lord John Russell or other members of the executive Government.

In order to supplement his Act, early in the new year (1847) Lord John Russell proposed further measures. Relief committees were to be formed, who should have the power to levy rates and receive donations from the Government, the resulting sums to be spent in the establishment of soup kitchens and distribution of food rations. Looking to the future, he proposed to advance £50,000 to the landowners, to be spent in seeds for sowing their lands, to prevent the recurrence of the famine. Further advances were to be made for the improvement of their estates by drainage and other such works. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought in his budget, he announced that the total expenditure in consequence of the famine in Ireland would exceed ten millions, most of which he proposed to raise by a loan. Finally, the seriousness of the situation was officially recognised when in March, 1847, a day of National Fast and Humiliation was proclaimed, after a manner then still customary in the Church of England.

Frederick Lucas resented these measures as too favourable to the landlords. Throughout the famine he wrote in his most extreme style of the wrongs which the Irish nation were suffering, and spoke as though the famine had been the direct effect of this injustice. It will be sufficient to give one paragraph, which is fairly typical of the style of his articles in the *Tablet*:—

"There can be no plainer dictate of common sense than this, that the landlords who by their inordinate selfishness, greediness, obstinacy, stupidity, and hard-heartedness have

created the present awful famine, have no right to take advantage of the famine for their own profit; have no right to ask or receive a single shilling out of the public treasury without giving the fullest security in their power against a recurrence of the evil. Having brought Ireland to the verge of revolution by their crimes, they can be trusted no longer; and no Government but a weak, a foolish or a dishonest one would think of advancing them one sixpence without exacting the amplest security, not merely for the repayment of the cash, but for the protection of the tenant class, which they have hitherto doomed to death by slow murder."

The official assistance of the Government was supplemented from private quarters, and although no systematic collection was made, a large number of private donations poured in. The English Catholics especially showed their sympathy with their co-religionists by subscribing largely, though unfortunately they formed such a small body that the result was not great. But it at least showed their good-will. In the autumn of 1846 considerable sums were subscribed by the Catholics of the North and forwarded by Dr. Briggs. Early in the new year all the Bishops issued pastorals on the subject, and collections were made in all the churches.[1]

With the advent of food supplies in the summer of 1847, added to the hope of a good crop that year, the outlook became more hopeful; and although there was a recrudescence of the evil, due to a further partial failure in the potato crop, the situation never became as serious as it had been.

It was during the later stages of the famine that the correspondence to which we have alluded was published in the *Morning Chronicle*, to which we must give a somewhat full consideration, on account of its results; but incidentally it will give us some instructive details about the famine itself. The first letter to be alluded to was written by the Earl of Arundel and Surrey on November 26, 1847, and addressed

[1] In London the collections on one Sunday amounted to over £1,350. (The Spanish Chapel, £250; the Bavarian (Warwick Street), £245; in the poor mission of St. George's over £200; and several others over £100.) To these must be added large donations from members of the Catholic aristocracy, and numerous ones of lesser amount from the people. These continued to come in steadily for many months, and the kind feeling which prompted them appealed to the warm hearts of the Irish more than the gifts themselves.

to Dr. McHale, the well-known Archbishop of Tuam. The subject on which he wrote was the allegations which were being freely made in *The Times* and other non-Catholic papers, that in many cases the priests in Ireland had from their pulpits publicly denounced certain landlords in their neighbourhood, and that it frequently occurred that the murder of such landlords followed within a few days. He wrote in a respectful strain, and although many thought that he betrayed ignorance of the true state of affairs in Ireland, they did not find fault with the tone of his letter. The important paragraph was couched in the following words :—[1]

" I am deeply sensible of the claims which the Irish Church has to the love and admiration of the Christian world. History relates the heroic constancy with which the Irish Catholics have endured the relentless persecution and bitter scorn of those who claimed religious liberty for themselves and denied it to their unhappy brethren. With the knowledge of such sufferings endured for the Faith, how bitter it is to my heart that I cannot defend the Irish Church in my intercourse with my friends, or against the attacks of violent opponents in the House of Commons. It is not of the fearful crime of murder by individuals of the peasantry that I wish to speak, however shocking such cold-blooded revenge appears to those at a distance. Nor do I wish to mention the frequent connivance of the peasantry in the escape of the assassin. It is not so difficult to make excuses for men in their circumstances. But that which completely overpowers me and deprives me of all defence is the conduct of some members of the priesthood. Denunciations from the altar, followed by the speedy death of the denounced, and public speeches of the most dangerous tendency to an inflammatory people are the melancholy accusations to which I am unable to reply. If I assert the small number of the clergy who have recourse to such means of obtaining or retaining influence, I am immediately asked—where then is the boasted discipline of the Catholic Church? How is it that men so imprudent, if not so wicked, are not suspended from their spiritual functions? . . . Oh my Lord, it is indeed severe to feel the justice of such remarks—not the remarks, be it observed, of thoughtless or uncharitable men,

[1] *Tablet*, December 25, 1847, p. 822.

but of those whose best feelings would willingly seek for all that is pious and good in the Catholic Faith."

Lord Arundel's letter brought forth not only a reply to himself, but also the Archbishop's well-known letter to Lord John Russell, which was likewise published in the *Morning Chronicle.* This letter gives such a vivid description of the work of the Irish clergy in the midst of their people at this calamitous season, that we may perhaps be excused for giving a somewhat long extract :—[1]

"My Lord,

"To the Catholic clergy of Ireland, who have been mainly instrumental in preserving the public peace, and keeping the frame of society through three successive seasons of famine as afflicting as ever zeal and piety were tried in, it must be a consoling requital to be held up in the high places as the preachers of sedition and founders of crime. It is in vain that they have been found 'in much patience and tribulation, in necessities, in distresses, ministering to the wants of the stricken' people, 'in season and out of season,' consoling the sick, soothing the agonies of the dying, attending as deacons to their temporal wants, in bearing the chief share in the daily ministrations, and on Sundays offering up the sacrifice of peace and propitiation to an offended God, inculcating to the different classes of society their respective duties of justice and of subordination, of mercy, and of patience, thus striving to heal the wounds which the world and its passions were inflicting during the past week, and raising the hearts and the hopes of their downcast flocks by the consoling promises that the sufferings of the present world were not to be compared with the glory to come which shall be revealed in us—such sacred duties punctually, perseveringly and disinterestedly discharged should, one would imagine, if not entitle them to the gratitude of those who are entrusted with the well-being of society, at least have shielded them against their censure. Yet not only have these been the ordinary occupations of the clergy of Ireland during the past famine, now set in afresh, but they have in several instances, with the piety of another Tobias, carried the victims of pestilence, which others had shunned from the dread of contagion, and deposited them in their graves. The records

[1] *Tablet*, December 4, 1847, p. 777.

of the past year will bear evidence to their zeal. The blanks in the coming annuals, adorned last year with many a conspicuous name, will show, alas! the extent of the sufferings of the Catholic clergy and the heroism of their martyrdom. . . .

"The clergy are continually preaching peace and resignation; it is their theme, their text, the exordium and the close of every discourse to their people in these appalling times, until like the exhortations of the aged evangelist on charity, it almost tires by its repetition. . . . To the seasonable and salutary influence of admonitions such as these the peace of many a parish and the general good order of society are owing. Were it not for the holy sanctions of our religion, so often and so forcibly and so efficiently inculcated by the Catholic priesthood, the people, goaded, maddened into outrage by seeing in many instances the last morsel of food earned by the sweat of their brow seized and snatched from their children shrieking around them, would have long since broken through all legal restraints, and rushed on the certain danger of death, rather than pine away as more than a million did last year under the lingering martyrdom of famine; yet far from experiencing gratitude for their labours in reconciling the perishing people to their fate, and saving from outrage both life and property, they are stigmatised because they have not worked miracles or been entirely successful in arresting those crimes which have been committed in defiance of their most zealous denunciations.

"I will not dwell now on the foul and fabulous slander that has been recently poured on the devoted heads of the Catholic clergy by connecting this or that unnamed individual with an outrage or a murder supposed to spring from the nature of his instructions. . . . Although it is scarcely necessary to vindicate the Catholic Church in Ireland on this point, yet to take from the weak who may be scandalised by those calumnies any apology, allow me to assure your Lordship that were any clergyman found so to abuse his ministry as to excite any of his flock to any crime whatever, so surely would he be suspended from his sacred functions and visited with the heaviest censures of the Church. . . . If then any clergyman has been found instigating to crime, it is easy—nay, it is a duty—to cite him before the public tribunals to

which he is amenable. There are no hereditary remembrances in the mind of any Catholic clergyman to encourage him to calculate on immunity from legal responsibility regarding his words and actions. Well then may the tenor of their lives and preaching challenge the most zealous and hostile scrutiny.

"These prolific calumnies are not, however, without a cause. They are propagated for the purpose of diverting public sympathy from the suffering people of Ireland, and of hiding the responsibility of ministers to relieve them. Slanders against the clergy will not arrest the progress of the famine. Indifference to the sufferings of the people is not calculated to arrest the progress of crime. In this diocese alone there were before they were thinned by the famine, near four hundred thousand souls. They have been, and are still, thank God, and I trust the Almighty will give them the grace of fortitude, and piety to continue so, guiltless of any of those agrarian, sanguinary crimes which are now said to be inherent in the inhabitants of Ireland. They are yet steeped in misery. The ordinary food of thousands of them is a wretched turnip—far more scanty but not more seasoned by any other aliment than what is given in England, and in Ireland too, to the beasts of the field. Is not this patience, this freedom from crime, amidst misery so intense and widespread almost miraculous? Yes, it equals in many instances the long sustained tortures of the martyrs. Are such a people, so meek, so patient, so heroic in their endurance, to be branded as a nation, or a portion of a nation of assassins, and their clergy who taught them those lessons of surpassing patience to be stigmatised as instigators to crime?"

In a second letter dated December 17, 1847, the Archbishop gave vent to his complaints against the Government and against the landlords:—[1]

"Your Lordship will not be surprised to learn," he wrote, "that we have listened with more of pity than of anger to the real or affected surprise of some members of Parliament that we did not interpose some further pastoral instructions to our clergy. . . . A bishop's exhortation to his clergy will no doubt have brought conviction to the minds of those whom the spectacle of hundreds of clergymen laying down their lives as

[1] *Tablet*, December 25, 1847, p. 822.

holocausts for their flocks could not have rebuked into reverence for such heroic sacrifices. The cruelties committed in Ireland on the starving people are scarcely equalled under the sun. Hence the hideous and atrocious deeds of retaliation which we all deplore and execrate, and against which the warning voice of the clergy has been raised with zealous energy. Your Lordship may boast of your police and stipendiary officers —you may rely, as if they were to be a panacea, on your recent measures of coercion—you might marshal those and many such other agencies for the preservation of the peace, but in justice to the calumniated clergy of Ireland, it is but right you should know that however sparing of their publications, their exhortations from the altars have done more for the protection of society than the entire [efforts] of all your salaried functionaries put together."

In his letter to Lord Arundel and Surrey, however, the Archbishop adopted a less uncompromising tone, and spoke of the accusations against the clergy as "*mostly* calumnies"; but he endeavoured to put those which were well founded in their proper perspective. The following are his words:—

"Vague charges, however, originating with the bitter calumniators of the Catholic Church and widely circulated through those adverse organs, cannot be deemed accusations on which any canonical proceedings could be founded. Your Lordship will not, I trust, imagine that I am now vindicating or excusing intemperate language, which I deplore. We must suppose that when such is uttered, the usual evangelical process of admonition is made use of. Should such language, however reprehensible, be found accompanied with such zealous reprobation of crime as the best friend of society and religion could give expression to, and should the sincerity of that zeal for public order be so borne out by the blameless tenor of a long and laborious life in advancing the interests of piety and the public peace that it could not be questioned, the isolated words which could bear a bad meaning would be favourably interpreted by any lay impartial jury. I think then that your lordship could put it to any of your scandalised friends whether such a person, so circumstanced, deserving admonition no doubt, could be ignominiously laid aside from the discharge of the duties of a ministry which he faithfully fulfilled."

At this stage the Earl of Shrewsbury wrote his well-known letters,[1] based primarily on a specific case of alleged denunciation, mentioned by Lord Farnham in the debate in the House of Lords on December 6, 1847. The victim mentioned was one Major Mahon, of Strokestown, County Roscommon. It was said that he had been denounced by the priest, Rev. Michael McDermott, on October 31, and on November 2, he was shot dead. Lord Shrewsbury wrote to the Bishop of Elphin, in whose diocese it occurred, demanding that he should hold an investigation of the circumstances of the murder, so as to ascertain whether the charge against Father McDermott was well founded or not. He added:—

"This, my Lord, is also the more to be desired, since it will afford a most fitting opportunity of denouncing the awful crimes, now of such frequent occurrence in some portions of your diocese, and which have given such an unhappy notoriety to the County of Roscommon. The Bishop of Limerick's denunciations against the crimes of the people within *his* district have exercised the most salutary effect upon the public mind, though they have come with but half their weight by standing alone. We have been looking forward to a similar exercise of the ecclesiastical authority in others, and nothing, I am convinced, would so much contribute to remove the sad impression, now so prevalent, that even the higher clergy have proved by their silence the little consideration in which they hold either the crimes of the people or their own reputation as Christian ministers."

Lord Shrewsbury sent this letter on December 18. After waiting a fortnight, no reply having come, he appealed to the Archbishop, Dr. McHale, in a long letter in which he criticised the latter's letters to Lord John Russell, as though the Archbishop was to be tried at the bar of public opinion—a remarkable attitude for a Catholic to take up. The following short extracts will give an idea of the strange tone which he adopted.

He began at the outset by calling on the British public as though to arbitrate:—

"Against the letter to Lord John Russell I have the same remonstrance to offer as against all its predecessors—that it is unjustly accusatory of the Government, and unhappily exculpatory of those who are the enemies of Government, im-

[1] See the *Morning Chronicle*, January 4, 1848.

puting blame when praise was due, and yet stranger still, apologetic for crime. My Lord, I know that you repudiate the very idea, and I believe you; but the public will not, because the whole tenor of your strictures necessarily lends to the opposite conclusion in the minds of those who judge you from a distance."

He then proceeds to give his views of the duties of the clergy to their people in the circumstances in which they were then placed, and proceeds :—

"My Lord, the public at large look to the Prelates of the disturbed districts to inform them whether in their dioceses these duties have been punctually and properly performed, and Englishmen must be excused in doubting it amidst scenes which stand forth so prominently to contradict it.

"To all, my Lord, especially does it behove you to reply" —he continues—"when it is currently reported and readily believed that in what concerns religion your Grace's diocese is in a state of peculiar destitution; that you have ever debarred your poor from the benefit of education under the national system without any efficient substitute of your own—that you have never admitted Father Mathew within your limits—and that too many of your parishes are without a school, and some of them without a chapel, though the Repeal Rent is regularly levied and ungrudgingly paid.

"I am far from asserting, my Lord, that in these matters common rumour does not wrong you; I sincerely hope it does. But I do suggest that the occasion offers you an opportunity for redress."

We will give one more extract from this remarkable letter, in which Lord Shrewsbury criticises, this time not altogether without reason, the Archbishop's attitude towards the British Government :—

"My Lord, do not your strictures on the apathy and neglect of the minister come with a very unjust severity after an effort such as no nation has perhaps *ever* made, and made at his urgent solicitation, to relieve the distress of another? If that effort were not altogether successful, if it still fell short of the necessities of the case, the defect at least was not in the intention, but may, with far more justice and propriety, I venture to submit, be imputed to the unerring though inscrut-

able designs of God, who so blinded the eyes of our rulers that *His* visitation might not be averted by any human ingenuity; and I would even suggest it as a subject for reflection whether that visitation were not aggravated—whether it be not very grievously aggravated—because, my Lord, sufficient expression of gratitude has been withheld both from the Government and the people of England, for the very generous sacrifices which in their charity, as in their duty, they were pleased to make last year in favour of their suffering brethren in Ireland; but which this year have been arrested by the scantiness of their thanks, the bitterness of her reproaches, the crimes of too many of her people, the unrestrained violence of some few of her pastors, the apathy of still fewer, as we hope, of her prelates. When all were thus scandalised and astounded, disgusted and dismayed, can we wonder that the sources of charity were dried up?"

In point of fact the reply of the Bishop of Elphin, dated January 3, crossed the above letter in the post. He answered in a tone of singular meekness, saying that he had visited Strokestown since the occurrence, but found no evidence against Father McDermott such as to warrant a formal inquiry; and he enclosed a statement signed by sixteen of his chief parishioners declaring that the whole story was untrue, and that Father McDermott had never denounced Major Mahon from the altar.[1] He added the following touching paragraph:—

"For your Lordship's character I have the most profound respect, as I believe in my soul that although your Lordship seemed by the tenor of your letter to give too much credit to the malignant slanders of our enemies, yet in doing me the great honour of addressing me, those who know your Lordship must be convinced you were solely actuated by the purest zeal for the credit and defence of our holy religion. . . . Believe me, my Lord, you know but little of what poor Irish peasants and Bishops have to contend with in these days of appalling misery and famine. The landlords if assailed for their cruelty and oppressions of the poor of God have many champions to defend them in the Imperial Senate. The destitute and

[1] *Tablet*, January 8, 1848, p. 17. Some of the letters of Father McDermott and Major Mahon were published. They betray a great state of tension, and it is possible that he used regrettable language more than once. That, however, is not at all the same thing as "denouncing him from the altar".

maligned clergy who are in season and out of season consoling the broken-hearted, preaching peace and resignation to the will of God, and obedience to the laws, have few defenders."

Lord Shrewsbury sent this letter to the *Chronicle*, and there this particular incident ended. Dr. McHale afterwards wrote an answer to Lord Shrewsbury of great length, filling more than eight columns in the *Tablet*, and couched in parts in strong terms.

The correspondence unfortunately aroused great attention. It is not wonderful that it produced a very painful feeling in Ireland and that Lord Shrewsbury was ever afterwards regarded as the enemy of Irish Catholics. The evil did not end here, for Dr. Wiseman was known to be his intimate friend, and the resentment felt extended in a measure to him. He was in a difficult position ; he could not approve of the tone of Lord Shrewsbury's letter, but his personal regard for him was such that he was unwilling to speak or write against it ; so he took refuge in silence. Needless to say Lucas wrote in the *Tablet* with all his power against Lord Shrewsbury whom he had so vigorously denounced on former occasions, and this became to him also the beginning of a definite falling out with Dr. Wiseman, which will be alluded to in a subsequent chapter.

We can conclude this chapter with the more gracious task of saying a few words about the bond of union between English and Irish Catholics which was the consequence of the famine. For those who were able left their unfortunate country, and many took refuge in England. For three years there was a continual stream of immigrants arriving on our shores. They brought their religion with them, and many of the English congregations increased by leaps and bounds. New churches became necessary and additional school accommodation, and the work of every mission expanded. Happily they found pastors—many of them of Irish descent—ready to minister to them whose self-denial and devotion to duty did not fall short of that which they had experienced in their own country. And it was soon put to a severe test, for the immigrants brought with them the famine fever which quickly spread. Cholera also broke out, and many of the large English towns became centres of pestilence. The clergy attended the victims and faced the danger with courage and devotion. Numbers of

them contracted the disease, and died martyrs to their priestly vocation. At least one Bishop lost his life [1] in this way and some hundreds of priests.

But the time came when the disease had run its course and ceased. In Ireland the famine was over; but those who had crossed the St. George's Channel had obtained permanent work in England, and the majority did not return. They remained and still remain amongst us to give numbers and importance to our Catholic congregations, and their presence has contributed more than any other cause to the progress of Catholicism in this country.

[1] Dr. Riddell, who had succeeded Dr. Mostyn as Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District, on the death of the latter on August 11, 1847, and himself died at Newcastle of 'famine fever' on November 2 of the same year.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE BISHOPS AND EDUCATION.

WE can now return to the internal history of the Catholic body during the years in which the events detailed in the last few chapters were taking place. We find that the one important matter before the Bishops was the thorny question of elementary education, which has occupied the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities with little intermission ever since, down to our own day. It was at the period with which we are now concerned that the provision of state aid was becoming systematised, and the time came for the Catholics to press their right in equity to receive a share of the aid, inasmuch as they contributed their proportion of the taxes. In order to understand the nature of the question as then agitated, it will be necessary to make a short survey of the condition of affairs in this respect in England at that time.

The early history of elementary education in this country naturally centres itself around two great pioneers and the two societies founded to perpetuate the work of each respectively. We allude to Joseph Lancaster and Rev. Andrew Bell. The former was the earlier in date, so far as his work was concerned, and the more remarkable man. He was by religion a Quaker, and after somewhat varied experiences in early life, settled down in 1803, at the age of twenty-five, to teaching a school in the Borough, where he offered free education to all-comers. He had a wonderful gift for managing children, but he had no money to equip or conduct the school. Hence he devised a system of monitors, whom he also trained to assist in the teaching. He was so successful in his method that his school soon grew to large proportions. At one time he had more than 500 children under him, and he taught them all, by employing the elder pupils in this way.[1] Almost at the

[1] An interesting description of Lancaster's school can be found in the *Ferningham Letters*, i., p. 307.

same time Rev. Andrew Bell, a clergyman of the Church of England, having returned home after some years in India, thought out a somewhat similar method, known as the Madras system of education. At first he and Lancaster seemed likely to become friends and to help each other, but the religious rivalry of those days soon made their respective admirers fall out, and for a long time a bitter controversy was carried on as to who was the real inventor of the system. Before very long Lancaster got into money troubles, from which he was rescued by his fellow-members of the Society of Friends, who in 1808 founded the "Lancasteran Society," the title of which was changed a few years later to the "British and Foreign School Society," to carry on education on Lancaster's system. In the meantime the friends of Bell founded the "National Society" to carry out his system, the distinctive feature of which, as contrasted with the other, was its close connection with the Church of England.

Neither Lancaster nor Bell continued much longer to do educational work. Lancaster resented the control of the Association, and after various difficulties left in 1816 for America, where he passed the remaining twenty-two years of his life. Bell, on the other hand, obtained preferment in the Church of England as a reward for his labours; he became a Canon of Hereford and then a Prebendary of Westminster. The two societies, however, continued their active work, and carried on many schools, those known as National being closely allied with the Church of England, while the British schools were unsectarian. For a long time the great majority of elementary schools in England belonged to one or other of these societies.

The first systematic grant of public money on behalf of elementary education was made in 1833, when a sum of £20,000 was voted, to be expended in new buildings, or enlarging existing ones; and it was limited to the schools belonging to the two above-mentioned societies, so that Catholics obtained no share. In 1838 an attempt to create a Board of Education was negatived by Parliament; but in 1839, by an order in Council, the Queen appointed a Committee of the Privy Council to administer the grants, and from that time some kind of systematic inspection of schools receiving public

money came into force. Two years later the first Training College for Teachers was opened: by 1844 there were nine such Colleges. In 1846 a further development took place in two important particulars. One was the establishment of the Pupil Teacher system; the other that of the "Queen's Scholarship," by which all teachers passing a certain examination could earn for themselves an annual personal grant.

It was at this stage that the question arose whether the Catholics ought not to secure a proper share of these grants, by this time amounting to £100,000 annually, to which they rightly considered that they had an equal claim with their Protestant fellow-subjects.

The Catholic Institute very properly took the matter up. In 1845 they had made a special educational appeal. According to the statistics published by them, there were in England some 30,000 Catholic children who were being educated, and 35,000 who were not, so that less than half the children were provided for. In response to the appeal some £700 was at once subscribed, a large part of which, being in the form of an annual subscription, was to be repeated every year. At the same time they had formed a permanent Education Committee, Charles Langdale being the Chairman. Naturally therefore it devolved on this Committee to agitate for a proportion of the public grants which were now being distributed.

A long and tedious correspondence ensued between Charles Langdale and the Government.[1] Langdale first wrote to Sir Robert Peel on June 15, 1846, asking for an interview on the subject. Sir Robert Peel answered by putting him off for a few days, and soon afterwards his Government fell. As soon as Lord John Russell had been appointed his successor, Mr. Langdale wrote a similar letter to him (August 11), and received an answer from his secretary that the matter had been referred to the Committee of the Council on Education. Langdale at the same time wrote to the Marquis of Lansdowne, the President of the Council, who replied that "no determination [could] be taken until [the question had] been maturely considered". After waiting five months, Mr. Langdale wrote

[1] This correspondence is summarised in the last of a series of three articles on the Catholic Institute by Rev. H. Lucas, S.J., in the *Month*, August, 1884, p. 509. It is given in full in the *Tablet*, April 24, 1847, p. 261.

again, and Lord Lansdowne answered on February 5, 1847, that if an application was made, accompanied by all requisite particulars, he would take advice as to whether it could legally be brought under the wording of the existing minutes. This was practically a request for a test case, which the Institute had apparently expected; for within a week, on February 12, a formal application was made on behalf of a school at Blackburn. In reply Mr. W. Kay-Shuttleworth, Lord Lansdowne's Secretary, wrote as follows:—

"His Lordship wishes to be informed whether the proposed schools are to be exclusively Catholic; and if not, what arrangements, if any, it is proposed to make with a view to the exemption of Protestant children who may attend the schools from the religious instruction to be given there."

This letter was dated February 18, and on receipt of it the following day, Mr. Langdale wrote to Bishop Walsh, as senior Vicar Apostolic, for instructions what to answer. But Bishop Walsh was old and infirm and getting beyond his work; he determined to submit the question to his colleagues at the next Low Week meeting, and in the meantime he sent no reply. In this manner not only were two good months lost, at a critical time, but the thread of the correspondence was broken, and the unfortunate impression was conveyed that the Catholics were at a loss what to answer to this straightforward question.

When the Low Week meeting was held, the Bishops instructed Mr. Langdale to answer that it was not intended to limit the children of the Blackburn school to Catholics, and they were prepared to make provision for any Protestants who might wish to attend it, so that they might be exempt from the religious instruction. At the same time they desired him to ask whether assistance would be given to Catholic Training Colleges as was done in the case of non-Catholic ones, and whether in the event of the inspection of Catholic schools being insisted on, it could be done by Catholic inspectors.

We can well understand that the arrival of this letter, reopening the question as to Catholic schools, which had been believed to have been for the time shelved, was unwelcome to the Ministers; the more so as the debate on the education grant for the year was on the eve of taking place. Mr. Kay-

Shuttleworth returned an unsatisfactory and evasive answer. He said that the existing minutes provided that all schools as a condition before receiving a grant must employ the Protestant Bible as a reading-book ; it was proposed to discuss the case of Catholic schools later on, and in the meantime, he could not answer the two questions asked.

This letter was dated April 16. As the matter was urgent, Dr. Griffiths determined himself to take the initiative and appeal to the Prime Minister. He accordingly wrote the same day in the name of the Catholic Bishops, who were still assembled, asking for an appointment to receive a deputation before the date of the debate in Parliament. It was in answer to this that the Prime Minister sent the following curt and uncivil reply :—

"Lord John Russell presents his compliments to Bishop Griffiths, and will name a day for receiving a deputation of Catholic Bishops before the introduction of any measure relating to the education of the children of poor Catholics. His Majesty's Ministers, however, have no immediate intention of promulgating minutes of the Privy Council on that subject."

It should perhaps be explained that as at that time the grants were administered by an Order in Council, Parliament had no direct control over the regulations for their administration, which took the form of "minutes" of the Council ; and the only way to raise the whole question was on the education vote in supply, in the same way as in the case of grants for Secondary education at the present day. In asking for such grant, the Minister in charge would explain the intentions of the Government in drawing up the minutes. In this case, the matter was in the hands of Lord John Russell himself, and the debate began on April 19—two days after he had written the above letter.

There was to be at least one important change in the regulations. Hitherto the grants had been practically limited as stated to the schools of the two chief educational societies—the British and National—while Wesleyan schools, of which there were a fair number, as well as Catholic ones were excluded. A special minute was now framed in favour of the Wesleyans, and as this had naturally the effect of bringing the question of the Catholic schools to the front, Lord John Russell

expressed a general intention of helping them too at some future time, but not that year. He had indeed at one time thought of allowing the Douay version of the Scriptures as an alternative to the Authorised, but this had raised so much opposition that he had abandoned the idea. This of course left the whole question open, for the vague declaration of help at some future time was worth at best very little.

The Catholic cause was, however, taken up in an unlooked-for quarter. In a long and powerful speech, Sir Robert Peel urged the claims of their schools; and he declared that he wished to put forth his plea with all publicity, just because it was one which would be unpopular. He used the natural argument that originally the Wesleyans and the Catholics had been alike excluded; but now that by the revised minutes the Wesleyans were to be admitted, he thought that the Catholic schools ought also to be. And he urged this the more strongly on account of the large influx of Irish, who had been driven from their country by the famine, and were daily landing in England. They had, he said, every right to have their children educated.

It was, however, too late to expect the Government to make any change that session, so having made his protest, Sir Robert Peel did not press his amendment to a division.

Two days after this debate, on Wednesday, April 21, the Catholic Institute held its annual meeting, which was largely attended, no less than five Bishops being present. The correspondence between Charles Langdale and the Government was read, and great indignation was expressed. One after another, the Bishops and other speakers declared that they had been deceived by the Government, for the Minister had affected to be willing to help them if certain difficulties could be removed; but Lord John Russell's last letter showed that they had never had any such intention. This seems perhaps a hasty conclusion at which to have arrived, as indeed the sequel showed. Any Government would be inconvenienced by so important a question being raised only a few days before the date fixed for the Parliamentary debate, and the object both of Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's last letter and of Lord John Russell's was evidently to avoid the topic being raised for that session. Had the Catholics, however, pursued their applica-

tion in a more business-like way, and continued the correspondence in February instead of letting the whole matter sleep for two months, they would have had a better chance of success, and some at least of the blame should be apportioned to those who ought to have acted vigorously, but who did not act at all.

Nevertheless, things having assumed their final shape, they now took the right course in beginning an agitation through the country; for words are of little use unless one can show that there is some power behind them to back them up. The following was the text of the chief resolution, which was moved by Charles Langdale and seconded by Dr. Wiseman:—

"That this meeting, deeply impressed with the outrage offered to the rights of conscience by the declaration of Her Majesty's present Government that Catholics are to be excluded from the participation in a grant of £100,000 to be voted by Parliament for all other religious communions, call upon all classes of their fellow-Catholics to unite in one cry of indignant reprobation at this insulting exception from a public grant, paid out of a public fund, under the administration of a Ministry who have appropriated to themselves the title of Liberal, but whose shrinking policy at the cry of a bigoted sect has countenanced the worst features of religious intolerance."

It may be questioned whether this resolution received any additional strength from attributing the Government policy to "the cry of a bigoted sect," or from such remarks as Lucas made in the *Tablet*, calling the Wesleyans "a gloomy and fanatical sect". To put it at its lowest, a religious body protesting against intolerance should be careful not themselves to exhibit that against which they are protesting. But the main Catholic attitude was undoubtedly a strong one. They determined to raise an agitation in their own body, and meetings of protest were already being held at centres of population in the North, in which the Catholics were sufficiently numerous to produce some effect. In addition to this, as a general feeling seemed to exist in favour of a large "aggregate" meeting in London, to be attended by delegates from the provinces, the acting Committee of the Institute took the initiative, and sent a circular to every mission in England, asking for co-operation. The answers showed surprising unanimity, and with hardly an

exception supported the project. The Committee then met again to consider the answers, but after a long discussion, they passed the following disappointing resolution :—

"That the whole of the correspondence on the subject of an Aggregate Meeting of the Catholic body received by this Committee be placed at the disposal of a Committee formed for that purpose."

At this unexpected change of front, we can excuse Lucas for feeling strongly. He wrote :—[1]

"It is with the utmost dismay we announce to our readers the lamentable fact that the Acting (un-acting? inactive? incapable?) Committee of the Catholic Institute, after sending to every congregation in Great Britain invitations to form an Aggregate Catholic Meeting, has decided that the subject is beyond its capacity (which we firmly believe), and that it must hand over 'the correspondence' to some other Committee not yet in existence and which will never be formed."

Charles Langdale wrote the following week, arguing that the course pursued by the Institute was in accordance with precedent. There had before been meetings of Catholics (he said)—as on the Maynooth Grant, or on the O'Connell trial—suggested by the Institute, but carried out in each case by a special Committee. The Institute had from the first, he said, kept away from politics.

Lucas answered this letter in the same issue, indeed on the same page. He naturally made a point of the fact that the Institute had actually begun to make the arrangements for the meeting, by sending out the circulars.

"For the Institute through its Secretary to write to every congregation in Great Britain to suggest the propriety of calling an Aggregate Meeting" (he wrote);[2] "to press upon them the importance of doing this, and of consulting about the registration of Catholic voters; to inquire into the possibility of assembling such a meeting; and to rouse the country to a fever of excitement by holding out expectations of a meeting in which the Committee of the Institute was the prime mover —this, inasmuch as it was done by Mr. Langdale, and as the circular was printed from a draft in his writing, this you may

[1] *Tablet*, May 29, 1847, p. 345. [2] *Ibid.*, June 5, 1847, p. 354.

be sure was all right, no violation of his pledge, and no 'politics'. But for the Committee of the Institute to name a day, appoint a place of meeting, and draw up resolutions—this it seems, in the jargon of the day, was 'politics'; this it seems was forbidden by Mr. Langdale's private pledges, the interpretation of which is wholly within his own power, and can be drawn tighter or looser just as the convenience or his 'valour' dictates. Admirable candour!"

It will not be necessary to quote more of the article, which ran to three columns, all written in the same strain. It is sufficient to say that it drew forth a spirited protest from Dr. Briggs in the following issue of the *Tablet*:—[1]

"You cannot be ignorant, dear Sir"—the Bishop wrote—"that Mr. Langdale stands pre-eminently at the head of the English Catholic body; that he enjoys both the unbounded confidence of all my brother Bishops in England, and the high respect of the Catholic laity from the highest to the lowest ranks of society. Surely such a man merits more than common courtesy, and even this, I grieve to say, he has not received at your hands."

Lucas answered with a kind of apology:—

"Taking for granted that there has been something unwarranted and unhandsome in the language we used towards Mr. Langdale, all we can say is that we are very sorry for it, and heartily apologise to the full extent of our error. If by this error we have (most unwittingly) given pain to Dr. Briggs, it very much increases our regret"; but he added that if Dr. Briggs meant that Mr. Langdale had any qualities to make him a suitable leader of Catholics, "from this opinion we venture to record our very humble, most respectful, but most unqualified dissent".

The Committee proposed was never formed and the Aggregate Meeting was never held. One reason for this was the general distraction caused by the death of O'Connell, which took place at Genoa, on his way to Rome, on May 15, 1847. It was of course in the first place for the Irish to mourn the loss of the greatest of their countrymen, who had succeeded in leading them to victory when so many others had failed. For them his death was an irreparable loss, and the public

[1] June 12, 1847, p. 370.

and national funeral which was given to him was no more than his due. But among English Catholics also he held a unique position, and especially among members of the Catholic Institute, with which he had been closely connected since the beginning. He was their emancipator also, and his loss seemed almost like the disappearance of the last relic of Penal days.

As time passed away, however, and nothing was done with respect to the proposed meeting, Lucas determined to take the initiative himself, and to found, in conjunction with some others, a new Association which should be more in harmony with his views. It was first established at a meeting at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand—famous for some of the meetings of the old Catholic Committee, of unhappy memory, half a century before—on June 29, 1847. The name taken by the new body was "The Westminster Association of St. Thomas of Canterbury for the Vindication of Catholic Rights"; but it was meant eventually to extend its sphere of activity throughout the British Catholic body, and this was indeed soon afterwards effected. The essential feature of the new society was that it was more democratic than the Catholic Institute, and in no way dependent on the aristocracy. The yearly subscription was only a shilling. The chairman was Bishop Morris who had recently returned from the Mauritius, and taken up his residence in London. At the opening meeting, he described the objects of the Association. "Our purpose," he said, "is to unite all Catholics of every political opinion for the fulfilment of a duty which precedes all duties of mere human politics, and to obtain this by the help of just politicians of all classes. The Association therefore proposes to be mixed up with no party, either political or personal, to treat all candidates with perfect impartiality; to urge our claims on all candidates, whatever may be their political or religious creed, party, or opinion; to communicate to the Catholic electors what promises or refusals of assistance each candidate may have made; to lay before the Catholic electors with all clearness the imperative duty of supporting no candidate whatever who will not in return support our claims in Parliament; and in the case of rival candidates equally willing to uphold our rights, to abstain from all interference,

and to leave the elector to be guided by his own sense of duty."

The Association was favourably received by the Catholic public and for a time it flourished; but the methods outlined by Dr. Morris were evidently more applicable to a body of greater voting strength than the English Catholics, and the results achieved never came up to the rosy expectations of its founders.

In the meantime, the Vicars Apostolic themselves were engaged on a scheme which was further to limit the scope of the Institute. When they met together, they came to the conclusion that the whole subject of education being part of their direct pastoral responsibility, they should keep the nomination and control of the Committee which was watching over it in their own hands, and that it should no longer be a branch of the Institute, but a separate body of its own. Although, however, this was put forward on the initiation of the Bishops, it is interesting to find that the idea was originally suggested by Mr. Langdale himself. This appears from the following letter from Bishop Briggs to Bishop Griffiths:—[1]

"York, *April* 5, 1847.

"My dear Lord,

"The other day I had a conversation with Mr. Langdale, in which he declared that he thought it desirable that the present alliance between the Institute and education should cease: that education should be started on its own foundation, and when thus started, to have given to it a religious character, privileges, and name. He wishes this Education Association to be placed under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph and indulgences to be procured for the contributors to this fund.

"Mr. Langdale furthermore suggested that the Committee of Education should consist of a representative from each district, and that this Committee should sit in London for three or four months each year; the members of the Committee being appointed by the respective Bishops, and the Committee itself being subject to the directions of the Bishops as the Committee of the Institute is at present. . . .

[1] *Westminster Archives*.

"Hoping to have the pleasure of meeting your Lordship and party next week, I am, my Lord,

"Truly yours,

"+ JOHN BRIGGS."

When the Bishops came to consider this scheme, some changes were made in detail—for example, three deputies were nominated for each district instead of one, but the main outline was adopted. This was the origin of the well-known "Catholic Poor School Committee," which lasted down to our own times, and still exists as to its main functions in the Catholic Education Council. During the greater part of the time it has been presided over by two Chairmen—Charles Langdale having held the office until his death in 1868 and having been succeeded after a few years' interval by the present Duke of Norfolk. Its affairs, however, have been managed by an executive sub-Committee in London, and the whole Committee or Council only come together once a year, or in case of special urgency. Originally its scope was limited to primary education, especially to the support of necessitous schools and the endowment of Training Colleges for Catholic teachers. St. Mary's Training College, Brook Green, was established in 1850 out of the funds of the Committee. Moreover, very soon after the foundation of the Committee, the more mild and conciliatory methods of Charles Langdale received ample justification, for on December 18, 1847, the Committee of Council of Education passed a minute authorising grants to Catholic schools under certain reasonable conditions, and in August, 1848, Parliament increased the sum voted to £125,000 that year in order to cover this amongst other additional expenses.

It was now evident that the Catholic Institute would break up, and though it is anticipating slightly, we may add a few words about its demise. This took place at a meeting on November 30, 1847. By that date the Bishops had their scheme for the Poor School Committee complete, and at the same time The Association of St. Thomas had developed sufficiently to found it formally as an Association for all England. The full title was "The Association of St. Thomas of Canterbury for the Vindication of Catholic Rights and the Redress of Catholic Grievances". At first the ordinary leaders took

their normal part in the Association; the Earl of Shrewsbury accepted the office of President, and the chief members of the Catholic aristocracy—including Charles Langdale, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Mr. Lisle Phillipps and others of that class—became members; but the life and spirit of the society was Frederick Lucas, and the former directors of the Institute took little or no share in the management of the new Association. At the meeting before the formal dissolution of the Institute the funds in its possession were divided between the two bodies which were to continue its work.

CHAPTER XXIV.

LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF BISHOP GRIFFITHS.

WHEN we consider that at the time of the Oxford conversions Dr. Griffiths was not yet fifty-four years old, and that he had always enjoyed good health, the title of the present chapter may come upon the reader in the light of a surprise; and certainly no one at that date had any apprehension of the Bishop's days being already numbered. It is true that his eyesight had begun to fail; in the year 1846 he lost the use of one eye, and it appeared that an operation would be necessary to save the other; but for a reasonably strong man of that age, the operation for cataract is not usually regarded as dangerous. In the event, however, the operation never took place, and the rapid collapse of his strength which put an end to his life was apparently only remotely connected with the state of his eyes.

During the last two years of his life, the question of the restoration of the Hierarchy was again being agitated, and it was brought before the Bishops at their annual Low Week meeting in 1845 by Dr. Griffiths himself. He was moved to action by a petition from the Secular clergy of the North, as members of a society then recently established to promote this result. A short account of this society must be given.[1]

The chief organiser was Daniel Rock, who had returned to his own district in 1840, Lord Shrewsbury being then resident abroad, and he was at this time chaplain to the Throckmortons at Buckland. He tells us that he found a society of Secular priests in London, who called themselves the Adelphi, and met once a month. It was out of this that the new society took its rise. The first meeting was held on November 24, 1842, all the chief clergy of London responding to the invitation. All the clergy throughout England, Secular

[1] See the *Tablet*, February 11, 1843, p. 89.

and Regular alike, were invited to become members, and it was proposed to hold the annual meetings in the chief provincial centres in turn—Liverpool, Manchester, York, Bristol, etc. The first President of the society was the veteran Rev. William Wilds, the old Douay Professor, who was for over fifty years chief chaplain at Warwick Street.

The new society soon included well over a hundred members, the greater number coming from London and Lancashire, in about equal proportions. Such a society necessarily exerted great influence, and it was probably due to their suggestion that the subject was revived in 1845.

The chief persons concerned in the movement were rapidly changing, and this was one reason why the petition of that year did not lead to any result. In the first place, changes took place among the episcopal body in England. On the death of Bishop Baines, Dr. Baggs, the Rector of the English College in Rome, had been, as we have seen, appointed to succeed him, and he was present at the meeting of 1845; but he did not survive long afterwards. The Roman climate seems to have undermined his constitution, and he died in the following October, at the early age of forty. As the Bishops had fixed on him, in conjunction with Bishop Wiseman, to draw up the petition to be submitted to Rome, praying for the immediate restoration of the Hierarchy, his death caused the matter to lapse for that year. In the following year the Bishops repeated their resolution, and deputed Bishop Brown to replace Bishop Baggs in assisting Dr. Wiseman to draw out the petition.

Dr. Baggs's successor was one who was destined to exert a leading influence in Catholic matters during an episcopate of over forty years. This was the well-known William Bernard Ullathorne, O.S.B., who had been almost the pioneer of Catholic work in Australia. At the time that the Hierarchy there was granted in 1842, he had been nominated for one of the sees, but had obtained permission to decline the appointment. Since then he had been stationed at the Benedictine mission at Coventry, where he built a new Gothic church. His history is so well known that it need only be referred to briefly here—the romance of his boyhood, when he went to sea, refusing even to prepare himself by going to his duties; the contrast of

his next few years, when he had felt his call to the priesthood, and had joined the community of the then out-of-the-way monastery at Downside; his offering his services for the Australian mission, and the remarkable life which he led during his early years in the Antipodes, including his tragic experiences among the transported criminals on Norfolk Island; and his subsequent work in conjunction with Dr. Polding in organising a Hierarchy for Australia; all this has been told by himself in his characteristically quaint style in his own autobiography. Of him Newman in his *Apologia* wrote his oft-quoted words, "Did I wish to point out a straightforward Englishman, I should instance the Bishop who has, to our great benefit, for so many years presided over this diocese".

Dr. Ullathorne had never fully overcome the want in his early education, so that he could not be called strictly speaking a scholar; yet he was a man of wide reading, and his strength of character made him a power wherever he was—none the less so for his quaint intonation, so well remembered by many of us, combined with the continual omission of the letter "h," which at least gave him a marked individuality. His elevation to the ranks of the English episcopate at that time was singularly opportune, on account of the value of his experience in the negotiations connected with the organising of the Hierarchy in Australia, in which he had taken a leading part.

As, however, Dr. Ullathorne had succeeded in excusing himself from accepting a Bishopric in Australia, some little doubt was felt as to how far he would be willing to sink his feelings on the present occasion. For this reason, and also in view of the prominent part which he afterwards played in Catholic affairs, the following letter, which he wrote to the Prior of Downside, on receiving his appointment, is worth reproducing in full:—[1]

"STANBROOK CONVENT, *April* 28, 1846.

"DEAR FATHER PRIOR,

"Yesterday brought me a letter from his Eminence Cardinal Acton in which he informs me that 'after much prayer and counsel,' his Holiness has been pleased to nominate

[1] *Downside Archives.*

the person who now writes to you to the Western District of England. 'If,' says his Eminence, 'honours and riches had gathered round the mitre hanging over your Lordship's head, then perhaps your virtue might have found out some motives to allege as a plea of excuse for resisting the offer. But in the present circumstances it is pain, trouble, and labour which is offered you, and therefore I trust that through love for Christ and His Church you will immediately accept the burden.'

"After reading the letter before the most Holy Sacrament, I bent down in submission. Not a fibre of my heart would permit me to resist the will of Almighty God, and of the Holy See. To-day's post conveys my acceptance.

"Pray for me, Father confrère, all my dear confrères pray for me and for the District unceasingly. And accept at this solemn moment of my life the expression of my deep love and reverence for my Order, and for the house of my Profession.

"With most affectionate regards to all my dear confrères,

"I remain, dear Father Prior,

"Your attached Confrère,

"W. B. ULLATHORNE."

The appointment of Dr. Ullathorne had hardly become known, and his consecration had not yet taken place when an even more important change in the *personnel* came about by the death of Pope Gregory XVI., which took place in the end with some suddenness, on June 1, 1846. Considering his long connection with England, first as Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda and then during a Pontificate of sixteen years, his loss was necessarily much felt; and it was realised that the whole question of the Hierarchy would have to begin *de novo* with his successor.

That successor was soon appointed. After the usual 'Novemdiales,' or nine days of *Requiems*, the Cardinals entered into Conclave in the Quirinal on the evening of June 14, the feast of Corpus Christi; and on the 16th they elected Cardinal Mastai Feretti, who took the title of Pius IX.

The beginning of the reign of the new Pontiff marked the passing away of the old order and the inauguration of a new policy destined to have long and lasting consequences with respect to the position of the Papacy in Italy, and in Europe. We shall, however, postpone the discussion of these and of

Bishop Ullathorne

the character and personality of the new Pontiff to a future chapter: here we shall confine ourselves to the consideration of his action so far as it affected the negotiations for the restoration of the English Hierarchy.

The first communications with the new Pope were not entirely of a reassuring nature. There were busybodies in Rome, who apparently received greater consideration than they deserved. "Certain laymen," writes Dr. Ullathorne,[1] "whose knowledge and judgment of our affairs were far from equalling their excited zeal, among whom two recent converts were the most conspicuous, made themselves very busy at Rome, lodging complaints against the English Vicars Apostolic, as if deficient in proper zeal and exertion in the cause of religion. They thwarted our efforts at a critical moment for obtaining legal security for our trusts,[2] and succeeded in staying counsels that ought to have reached us in reply to our questions on this momentous subject, so as to bring us to a complete stand, and that at the very time when we might have gained from Parliament all that we required."

It is worthy of remark that although when Dr. Wiseman lived in Rome he was one of the foremost to criticise the administration of the English Bishops, especially in the London District, now that he lived in England his turn came to be criticised with the others, before a new Pope, who was a stranger to him. The Vicars Apostolic, however, having determined to send a deputation of their own body to Rome, naturally turned to him as the best qualified person to represent

[1] *Hierarchy*, p. 22. The laymen alluded to were comparatively unknown men, and did not include any of the Oxford or Cambridge converts.

[2] The Charitable Trusts Bill here alluded to was introduced by Mr. John (afterwards Lord) Romilly, in order to amend the short Act of 1832 by which Catholic Trusts were then regulated. It met, however, with such a halting reception among Catholics, owing to the divided counsels alluded to, that he dropped it for a time, and announced his intention of moving for the appointment of a Committee to report upon the subject. This he afterwards also abandoned, and for a similar reason. Cardinal Fransoni wrote to Dr. Grant on May 15, 1847, condemning the principle of the bill, as putting too much into the hands of a lay tribunal (see his letter among the Archives of the English College at Rome). In the following year the Government returned to the subject, while Mr. Chisholm Anstey prepared a rival bill on his own lines, independently of any ecclesiastical authority. Lucas wrote in the *Tablet*, vehemently opposing him, and in consequence they fell out, and ceased to be on speaking terms with one another —a fact which Lucas printed and made public. The two bills were eventually dropped by mutual agreement, and there the matter rested for the time.

them, in view of his intimate knowledge of the Curia and its ways. He was accompanied by Bishop Sharples, Coadjutor of the Lancastrian District. Setting out towards the end of June, they arrived at the Eternal City on July 9.

Before they arrived in Rome, the two Bishops learnt of still another great loss sustained by the English mission in the death of Cardinal Acton, which took place at Naples on June 23 at the age of forty-four. He had been the close adviser of the late Pope on all matters connected with England, and it will be remembered how he threw in his influence in opposition to the restoration of titular Bishops. The episcopal deputies may have felt that with his death one great obstacle to their desires was removed.

Bishops Wiseman and Sharples were received by the Holy Father with all cordiality; but he did not conceal from them the adverse accounts which had reached him of the state of the English mission. On July 19, Dr. Wiseman wrote to Dr. Griffiths to report progress. The following letter from the last named, addressed to Dr. Ullathorne, is probably the last he ever dictated, and is worth giving in full:—[1]

"35 GOLDEN SQUARE, 4 *August*, 1847.

"MY LORD,

"His Lordship the Right Rev. Dr. Griffiths being very unwell, and unable to write, has desired me to communicate to your Lordship the substance of a letter received from Bishop Wiseman on Saturday last.

"His Lordship states that he has found that much sinister influence has been exerted at Rome against the present state of things in England, and consequently against the Bishops. From the remarks made by his Holiness and by others, it would seem that the following are the principal subjects of complaint:—

"1. Want of sufficient means of religion, of churches, chapels, schools, and priests, especially in large towns. This, of course, is attributed to want of proper exertion.

"2. Want of zeal and activity, as though conversions could be increased indefinitely if proper efforts were made.

"3. Arbitrary exercise of authority with regard to the clergy,

[1] *Clifton Archives*. A similar letter to Dr. Briggs is among the Leeds Archives.

and want of fixed rules for the suspension, removal, etc., of priests.

"4. Administration of trusts to church property—the subject of rival bills this year.

"These complaints are to be attributed principally to Mr. Hamilton (now in England), Mr. Tempest, and to Messrs. Trappes and Hearne.[1]

"To remove the impression that had been made on the mind of his Holiness, Bishops Wiseman and Sharples drew up a statement of the churches, chapels, and religious houses that had been erected in England during the last six years, and of the missions and retreats given in England. At their audience his Holiness referred to several of the above topics, and suggested the expediency of a new constitution to supersede that of Benedict XIV., and desired them to offer suggestions. This their Lordships find a subject of great difficulty, and state their views of the absolute necessity of entering at once into the subject of the Hierarchy. They would, however, feel themselves more strengthened in their views if they had the approbation of their Right Reverend Brethren. This they may obtain before the next Congregation of the Propaganda.

"Dr. Wiseman also states that a further division of the Districts has been spoken of at Rome—another motive for entering into the question of the Hierarchy.

"Bishop Griffiths desires me to add that he entirely agrees with the views of Bishops Wiseman and Sharples on this question.

"His Lordship has now been confined to his bed for ten days and is still very low and weak. I need not beg your Lordship's prayers for his speedy recovery.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's very obedient servant,

"EDWARD COX."

At this stage an important new figure appears on the scene in Mgr. Barnabò, who afterwards as Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda was so long and closely connected with the English

[1] The last two named were priests who had come to Rome with appeals against their Bishop. Mr. Hamilton was a rich convert, who afterwards joined the Benedictines abroad, but did not persevere. Mr. Tempest, of Broughton, in Yorkshire, was a member of a distinguished Catholic family. He had had a difference with Bishop Briggs about one of the missions in his neighbourhood.

mission at an important period of its history. At the time with which we are now concerned, he had recently become Secretary of Propaganda, and already his strong character and personality had begun to assert itself. Cardinal Fransoni was getting old, and it was popularly said that he was fast becoming little more than a figure-head. "Mgr. Barnabò *is* Propaganda," it was said. It was therefore a most important development when he declared himself in favour of the Hierarchy. It was at his suggestion that the two Bishops drew out a formal petition for Bishops in ordinary.

The petition has been summarised by Dr. Wiseman himself in his "Appeal to the English People". The arguments which he used in its support were practically those which have been set out in full in the preceding pages. He pleaded that the *Apostolicum Ministerium* of Benedict XIV. (1753) had become inapplicable, for it had been based on four considerations, viz. (1) that the Penal Laws were still in force; (2) that all the Colleges and houses of education were abroad; (3) that the religious Orders had no houses in England; and (4) that there was no parochial division between adjoining missions, and that in most missions the parochial work was combined with chaplaincies to the families who supported them. All these four conditions he said had long passed away; and either a new constitution should be drawn out, applicable to the new state of affairs, which would necessarily be only temporary, or better, the ordinary code of the Church should be extended to England. This latter course involved the granting of a regular Hierarchy in the same way as it had been recently granted to Australia.

On receipt of this petition, the Pope took time to consider the matter, and offered up Mass three times for light to guide him in his decision; after the third Mass he declared that his mind was at rest. In other words, he decided that the Hierarchy was to be restored. Much work remained yet to be done in the adjustment of details; but the main question was now definitely decided, and was never afterwards reopened.

In order to proceed with due order and thoroughness, Propaganda directed that the various reasons against the restoration of the Hierarchy formerly drawn out by Cardinal Acton—which he had committed to writing—should be put

before Drs. Wiseman and Sharples, together with some additional ones which had been thought of since, and that the two Bishops should be invited to put in their answers in writing. Before they could do this, however, the negotiations were brought to a premature end by Dr. Wiseman being sent back to England on an important diplomatic mission, to be mentioned presently.

An even more important event, however, as affecting the prospects of the restoration of the Hierarchy was the unexpected death of Bishop Griffiths, by which the whole situation became materially changed.[1] It is said that the sudden collapse of his health was brought on, at least in part, by the hard work which he did in the early months of the year, in view of his approaching operation for cataract, in order to prevent his diocesan affairs falling into arrears during his enforced idleness. So late as July 30 his secretary wrote to the *Tablet* saying that there was no cause for uneasiness; but it turned out that

[1] Dr. Ullathorne, in interpreting a remark of Cardinal Wiseman in his *Last Four Popes*, gives it as his opinion that the reason which had prevented Gregory XVI. from granting the Hierarchy was that Dr. Griffiths would have been unsuitable as the first Archbishop. "He was a holy and industrious Prelate," Dr. Ullathorne wrote, "most sedulous in his charge, and enjoying the confidence of his clergy. But he had long run in a groove, and wanted that expansion of mind and elasticity of character requisite for taking the leading position in the development and guidance of a new order of things." "As soon as this obstacle was removed by his death," Dr. Ullathorne adds, "Pius IX. proceeded to do what Gregory XVI. had intended had he lived long enough."

There is no doubt that Dr. Ullathorne was correct in thinking that Pope Gregory XVI. would have looked upon Dr. Griffiths as wholly unsuited to become the first Archbishop of the restored Hierarchy, for as we have seen, he had never understood him, and had the lowest opinion of his capabilities and discernment. That Pius IX. shared that opinion is less clear: indeed, he had hardly time to come across Dr. Griffiths before he died. In any case the theory put forward by Dr. Ullathorne that the determination to restore the Hierarchy was consequent on the death of Dr. Griffiths cannot easily be made to fit in with the dates. Dr. Wiseman was in Rome from July 9 to August 24; and some little time must be allowed towards the end of this period for the preparation of the list of Cardinal Acton's objections, which was delivered to him some days before his departure. Now the death of Dr. Griffiths was wholly unforeseen. It took place on August 12, and would have been known in Rome about the 16th. We should therefore have to believe that the Pope had no intention of restoring the Hierarchy up to that date, and that the presentation of Wiseman's petition, the time taken by the Pope to consider and offer three Masses, the communication of his decision to Propaganda, and the preparation of the case stating Cardinal Acton's difficulties only occupied about eight days.

As an alternative it may perhaps be suggested that the real obstacle was Cardinal Acton himself. His death took place, as we have seen, shortly before Dr. Wiseman reached Rome.

what was taken for only a slight disorder of the stomach was in fact a painful disease, which would probably have been recognised to-day as some form of tuberculosis, and which quickly wasted him away. He was attended by Dr. Cox, President of St. Edmund's, who wrote a short account of the Bishop in the following year's Directory.

"The days which he passed on his bed of death," Dr. Cox wrote, "were indeed days of edification to all who had the happiness to attend him—to himself, days of merit that shall never die away. His perfect resignation to the will of his Creator, his entire abstraction from the things of this earth, his constant absorption in prayer, his confidence in the goodness of God, the fervour and tranquillity with which he received all the last rites of our holy religion, can never be forgotten by those who were present."

"I fear because I have no fear," was one of his favourite sayings during his illness; and he said to Dr. Cox, "when you join me in heaven, you will see how I loved the Church".

The following account of the last visit paid to the dying Bishop by the well-known "Father Thomas"[1] is sufficiently vivid to warrant our giving it in full:—[2]

"Let us go to his room in Golden Square and see him working his passage to the eternal world, attended by his dear son in Christ, the Rev. Dr. Cox, and those angels in human form, the Sisters of Mercy from the Convent at Bermondsey. . . . The day before he died saw the sorrowing writer of this mounting the staircase of the Bishop's house, not to speak to, but only to have a last look at his old friend, the dying saint. Had it not been for Dr. Cox, Father Thomas would never have had a word of parting to the sinking man, through fear of disturbing his last moments. But Dr. Cox would not let him go without first drawing nigh to the bedside of the departing. 'Speak to him,' said Dr. Cox, 'speak to him, or otherwise he will not recognise you.' Oh my God, what a terrible prostrator is death! how the high and noble and the rulers and the comely are crushed by that heavy, unsparing hand! There lay the wise and good Bishop of this District, helpless, sunken, sick unto death, his face much altered through much

[1] The Rev. Thomas Doyle, of St. George's Fields.
[2] *Tablet*, August 21, 1847, p. 534.

suffering, but yet the old heavenly calmness and peace and resignation lambent on his countenance. . . . The Bishop paused, as if perfectly to recollect himself. 'I have,' said he, 'always prayed that the will of God be done. I have always endeavoured to do the will of God—every action of my life I did with the pure intention of doing His will—and in everything that I undertook to the best of my judgment, I did for that—to fulfil His will.'"

All hope of the Bishop's recovery was abandoned on the evening of August 11. At about midnight the last rites were administered by Dr. Cox. Before this it had not been possible to give Holy Communion to the Bishop owing to his inability to retain food; but at this time the trouble ceased, and he received Holy Viaticum, which was no small consolation to him. Still, his death was not regarded as immediately imminent, and he transacted one final piece of diocesan business. This was to determine on a *terna* of names to recommend to Rome, nominally for the selection of a Coadjutor, but practically of a successor.[1] This was necessary, as there was still no regular procedure for the election of Bishops; and in most cases the Coadjutor having been elected in this manner, afterwards succeeded. Before the letter containing the names had been posted the end had come.

"Shortly before noon," writes Dr. Cox, "after he had implored pardon for all the scandal that he might have given, for all his negligences in the performance of his duties, after he had supplicated the mercy of Heaven for his whole flock, and in particular for those who had assisted him during his illness, he died with his hand firmly clasped in the hand that is writing this; that a few hours before extended to him the bread of life; that had been raised over him when imparting the last solemn benediction of the Church; and that had shortly before at the solemn hour of midnight anointed him with the last unction for the forgiveness of sin."

Dr. Griffiths was probably the first Vicar Apostolic to have his death announced in *The Times*. The following paragraph appeared the next day:

[1] The three names were Rev. William Hunt, afterwards for many years Provost of Westminster; and Revv. John Rolfe and Edward Cox, Presidents of St. Edmund's College.

"DEATH OF RIGHT REV. DR. GRIFFITHS.

"The Right Rev. Dr. Griffiths, Roman Catholic Bishop of the London District, died yesterday, at his residence in Golden Square. He was much esteemed as an amiable gentleman, benevolent pastor, and discreet ecclesiastical ruler."

In summing up the work of his episcopate, we can avail ourselves of Lucas's article in the *Tablet* two days later. The temperaments of the two men were not congenial to one another, a fact which increases the value of the testimony borne to the solid merits of Dr. Griffiths and the work achieved by him. The following is an extract from the article:—[1]

"Dr. Griffiths has been Bishop during a period which we may well call eventful, though his course in it has been (outwardly) smooth and calm enough. During the fourteen years he has held sway amongst us, Catholicity has advanced with rapid strides indeed. A new spirit has been abroad; a new era has been opened to us; new influences have been at work; new powers have been developed; new opportunities have presented themselves. Affairs both within the Church and without it have assumed a new aspect, and London has partaken of the movement and spirit of progress that have made themselves felt through every fibre of the Universal Church.

"The episcopal career of Dr. Griffiths in point of time coincides not quite exactly, but not very remotely with the Pontificate of Pope Gregory XVI. Between them a more penetrating eye than ours might perhaps discern parallels that would be both true and instructive. The Church in London has in some respects perhaps copied the fortunes of the Church in Rome. In both the settlement and unsettlement of political affairs brought about by the events of 1828-1831 have been followed by a period of progress, silent, steady, and unassuming. Nothing of novelty in the plans or methods, no hazardous experiments, no rash attempts, no daring enterprises; but while the Spirit of God breathed on the chaos of the world, and a power from within upheaved the surface of affairs, with strength irresistible the Universal Bishop and the London Vicar both laboured to find vent for the forces that were brought within their jurisdiction by a quiet and orderly adaptation of old methods to the new wants of the times. . . .

[1] *Tablet*, August 14, 1847, p. 513.

"Gregory XVI. and Thomas of Olena are summoned to everlasting felicity, and from the ranks of his people God, who alone knows the work He contemplates, chooses another ruler of another character to fulfil the functions and the duties of another time. Gregory is followed by Pius; our departed Prelate, whose meekness, saintly humility, and zeal for God's service even Gregory could hardly surpass, will have such a successor as Providence shall determine. Meanwhile it is certain that whoever succeeds Dr. Griffiths, though he will find work enough and responsibility enough to task to the utmost his energies however ample, and his zeal however fervent, will find the way very much smoothed before him by the prudent, discreet, regular, and methodical course of administration which characterised his immediate predecessor."

The funeral took place at St. Mary's, Moorfields, on Friday, August 20. Dr. Ullathorne sang the Mass, and four other Bishops were present on the sanctuary. The sermon was delivered by his old friend and pupil, Dr. Maguire, and at the conclusion, his body was temporarily deposited in the clergy vault at Moorfields, pending the completion of the new Pugin Chapel at St. Edmund's College. That Chapel had been initiated by him, and he had watched its progress towards completion; now the first ceremony to take place in it was to be his own funeral. This, however, was not to be for nearly two years after his death, during which time a tomb of mediæval pattern, with a recumbent figure, was designed by Pugin, in the Griffiths Chantry, which remains to this day one of the chief ornaments of the College Chapel.

In the meantime we would fain linger over that last scene at Moorfields Church, as the passing away of the old order of things. Dr. Griffiths may be regarded as the last of a venerable line, the Vicars Apostolic of the London District.[1] There had been nine of them during a period of over 150 years. All save the last two had been educated at Douay. Their work began in the brief reign of James II., but quickly entered on days of the blackest persecution. They saw times gradually

[1] Strictly speaking, both Dr. Walsh and Dr. Wiseman should be reckoned among the London Vicars Apostolic; but they only reigned for a few months each, and it will be evident from the next chapter that the old order really passed away with the death of Bishop Griffiths.

and slowly mending, and the last two were Bishops after Catholic Emancipation. The task set them was to see the Church through its worst days, and then to organise its early developments on the cessation of active persecution. Their traditions were retiring and unostentatious; but their work was solid and lasting, with a steady continuity of policy and a perseverance which one cannot but admire. There were those among their number who were far better scholars than Dr. Griffiths, and who may have had a larger and wider outlook on life; but no one of them ever excelled him in personal holiness or steady persistence at his work—qualities no less evident during the early part of his career, when he was President of St. Edmund's College, than during his later years as Bishop. His retiring habits caused him to be frequently—almost continuously—misunderstood by Propaganda, and he received several strong letters from Rome indicating a rooted distrust of him. But he never allowed this thought to interfere for a moment with his daily work: he simply met each letter as it came with such measures as he deemed necessary, and continued wholly unruffled in the daily discharge of his duties and responsibilities. For all these qualities we may regard him as a worthy member of the line. The Chapel and Cloisters of St. Edmund's College form a fitting memorial of the London Vicars Apostolic, the mortal remains of nearly all of whom [1] rest in the vaults beneath.

[1] The exceptions are Bishop Leyburn (1688-1703) and Bishop Challoner (1758-1781). Those buried at St. Edmund's are Bishops Giffard (1703-1734), Petre (1734-1758), Talbot (1781-1790), Douglass (1790-1812), Poynter (1812-1827), Bramston (1827-1836), Gradwell (Coadjutor, 1828-1833), and Griffiths (1836-1847).

CHAPTER XXV.

DR. WISEMAN IN LONDON.

WHEN the unexpected death of Dr. Griffiths took place Dr. Wiseman was in Rome, and with unwonted haste Propaganda —putting aside the official *terna*—decided that he was to succeed the late Bishop. Dr. Griffiths was buried on August 20: nine days later, on the 29th, Dr. Wiseman was formally appointed. It was probably the quickest election in the history of the Catholic Church in England in modern times. The only question was as to his precise status. In view of the pending arrangements for the new Hierarchy, and the important questions which hung on the personality of the Bishop exercising jurisdiction in London—who would presumably become the new Archbishop—it was decided not to make a permanent appointment, and to give Dr. Wiseman the title of "Pro-Vicar Apostolic".

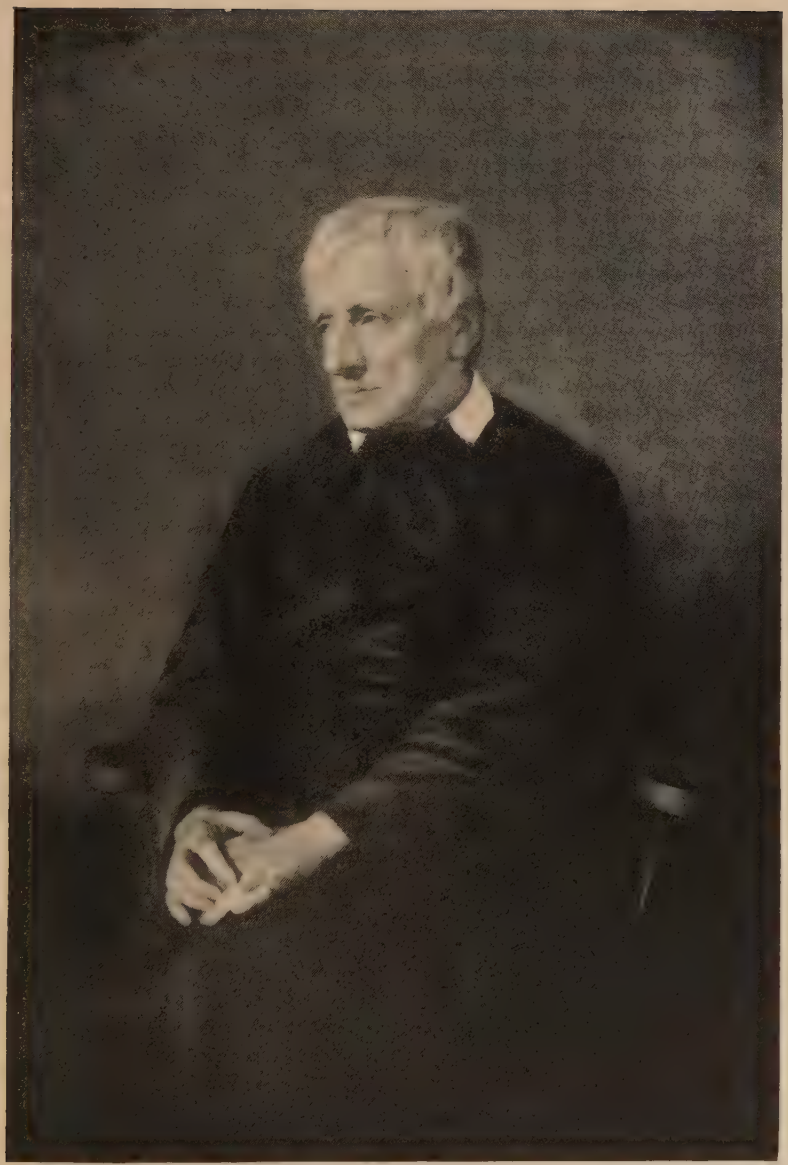
Before his brief could be made out, however, Dr. Wiseman was already on his way back to England, on a political mission of an unexpected nature, consisting of an attempt to establish diplomatic relations between the Court of St. James and that of Rome. We shall devote the following chapter to giving details of this mission. Here it is sufficient to say that it was of such paramount importance that Dr. Wiseman felt justified in abandoning for the time the Hierarchy negotiations and leaving them in their incomplete state, so as to lose no time in reaching London. On his way he stayed a few hours with his sister, Countess Gabrieli, at Fano, and from there he despatched his answers to the difficulties about the Hierarchy quoted from Cardinal Acton, leaving Bishop Sharples to write his own answer independently.

Dr. Wiseman arrived in London on September 11 and having discharged the commission which had brought him there, he next turned himself to domestic concerns. Two days

after his arrival he received through the post the brief of his appointment as Pro-Vicar Apostolic of the London District, and he forthwith took up his residence at the Bishop's house in Golden Square. He was aware that his nomination would not be popular with the majority of the clergy, and he tells us that at first he felt a sense of loneliness. In fact, the London clergy soon divided themselves into two groups, known as the Chelsea and Moorfields parties respectively. The former were in Dr. Wiseman's favour, and included several of the most prominent London clergy. The Rev. Thomas Doyle of St. George's Fields, who had been the bosom friend of Bishop Griffiths, wrote a strong letter to the *Tablet*, in favour of his successor; and as soon as Dr. Wiseman became personally known, he rallied the majority of the clergy around him.

Nevertheless, there remained a party, of whom the historian Tierney was perhaps the most influential member, who continued opposed to Wiseman's schemes and methods; and it seems probable that this feeling was more widely spread than Dr. Wiseman himself realised. Moreover, his manner of speaking as well as of acting always tended to be high-handed, and the difficulties he had met with in Birmingham at the hands of the Rev. Thomas McDonnell soon found their counterpart in London from two somewhat refractory priests, Rev. Richard Boyle of Islington and Rev. Hardinge Ivers of Kentish Town. With respect to the former at least the trouble lasted some years, but most of it belongs to a later period than that with which we are now concerned.

Most of the laity welcomed Dr. Wiseman's arrival amongst them, and Frederick Lucas tells us that in the *Tablet* he did his best to "discredit the hostility with which his appointment was greeted in London by a very numerous portion of the clergy". At first he used to go to the Bishop's house in Golden Square from time to time, to obtain Catholic news; but after a while it began to be evident that the two men were not in sympathy with one another, and the visits ceased. Matters, however, assumed a graver aspect, when it became known that the *Tablet* was giving grave offence in Rome, and that Dr. Wiseman was considered in some way responsible, at least indirectly, for its contents. In particular, some letters from the Eternal City published in the *Tablet* at the beginning of the year 1848 were



JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

From a painting by Roden in the Manchester Art Gallery,
by kind permission of the Corporation

regarded as wanting in respect to the Holy See. As the results threatened to be serious, Dr. Wiseman thought it his duty to write to the Cardinal Secretary of State disclaiming any responsibility for the conduct of the *Tablet*. He added plainly his regret at the tone of the paper, which he afterwards explained to refer to the "personal attack, foul language, gross abuse, and constant interference in ecclesiastical matters".

Dr. Wiseman's letter was placed before the Pope, who expressed his satisfaction, and directed that his disclaimer should be published in the *Roman Gazette*. A paragraph accordingly appeared, declaring that Dr. Wiseman took no part in the editing of the *Tablet*, and that he was "very far from following the exaggerated maxims of that journal". This paragraph being seen by Lucas was published by him on March 4. He added an article in which he declared that Dr. Wiseman was "trying to ruin the character of the *Tablet*," and that he was identifying himself with the Earl of Shrewsbury in his attacks on the Irish clergy. Dr. Wiseman naturally refused to be drawn into a newspaper controversy, but he wrote a statement which he printed and sent to his brother Bishops and others, in justification of his conduct; and when Lucas wrote him a long letter of expostulation, he declined entering into any further correspondence on the subject.

The incident was accordingly brought to a close; but there was no mutual *rapprochement*, and it was in fact the beginning of a permanent breach between them, the further development of which will be considered in the next chapter.

Before the end of 1847 Newman arrived back in England, having been ordained priest in Rome, and admitted into the Congregation of the Oratory of St. Philip, of which it was proposed to establish a house in England. The project had been decided upon with the approval—indeed with the active co-operation—of the Pope. It was arranged that he and his friends should go through a short novitiate in Rome, in order to qualify themselves for their future work. Five more of their friends came from England[1] to join them, so that the group of novices numbered seven. By the Pope's express wish

[1] John D. Dalgairns, Frederick Bowles, Richard Stanton, Robert Aston Coffin, and William Goodenough Penny.

they were assigned rooms in the monastery adjoining the basilica of Santa Croce, and one Father Rossi, an Oratorian, came from the Chiesa Nuova to act as novice master. A training of five or six months was deemed sufficient, and during this period Newman received sacred orders at the hands of Cardinal Fransoni, being ordained priest on May 30. In the month of August he left Rome on a visit to Naples, to make the acquaintance of the well-known Oratory there. He returned to Rome in September, and during the following month his companions also received their ordination. Early in December they started homewards, and after various travels Newman finally landed at Dover on December 23, reaching London the following day.

Before Newman's arrival an important development had occurred, destined to influence his plans; Faber had decided to break up his community of Wilfridians, and to offer himself and them *en bloc* to Newman's Oratory. So far as he was personally concerned, he came to the determination with absolute suddenness, while making his morning meditation on Thursday, December 2. The following account, written by himself, is from a letter to Mr. Watts Russell:—[1]

"I rose at five and made my meditation. It was full of distractions; but I took pains with it, although I had no particular sweetness in it, nor was there anything signal about it in any way. Towards the conclusion, when making my colloquies, and repeating my petition for counsel and prudence, when nothing was further from my thoughts, all on a sudden I felt an interior call to join the Oratory of St. Philip, and in one instant all the perplexity of the faculties of my soul which I had experienced for some weeks was calmed."

Apparently Father Faber had very little difficulty in persuading his companions to join with him in his new move. By a curious coincidence a letter from Dr. Wiseman arrived the very next day fixing the feast of the Immaculate Conception for the Wilfridians to take their vows at his house in London—for he was still their superior; so Father Faber and Father Hutchison started at once for the metropolis. Arriving at Golden Square, they found Father Richard Stanton already there, in the habit of an Oratorian. After a long conference

[1] *Life*, p. 331.

Bishop Wiseman gave a formal approval to the change of plans, subject, of course, to Newman's consent.

It was only natural that the prospect of the change should cause some anxiety of feeling, and Faber continues as follows:—

"And now, *fratello mio*, you must pray hard. I shrink from the prospect before me very, very much; to fall from founder and superior to novice, and a novice who must naturally be an object of extreme jealousy from his influence over the rest of the brothers; to meet the ludibrium of all our old Catholic enemies; to stand the evil opinion of those who, as A.B. does, think all this from Satan, will require no little grace. It is possible to face it well in meditation with the dignity of the sacrifice to support us, but the daily irritating detail, then will be the trial, and it is for that I so much need Masses and prayers. Still, the call has come; our Bishop and director approve, and forbid the Jesuit Retreat; humility and obedience alone remain. We are all, thank God, in good spirits, and prepared to do God's will; we have felt wonderfully in His hands ever since the decision was come to."

It is needless to add that Newman welcomed the accession of his new recruits; and Dr. Wiseman having now come to London, wished to have the Oratory in his new District. For this, however, he was just too late. Writing to Henry Wilberforce on January 19, 1848, Newman says:—[1]

"The Pope's brief, which I bring with me, *fixes* me at Maryvale and Birmingham—but as my name alone is introduced into it, me only. I could not change without his interference. Dr. Wiseman's going to London is *since* the brief was drawn up. The late Bishop of London,[2] between ourselves, was the *only* Bishop who did not cordially welcome me. He was a good, upright, careful man, but timid. He was really kind to me personally, but he feared me; so I felt myself cut out of London. He died just after the brief was finished."

Newman and his companions accordingly settled at Maryvale, and the English Oratory was formally erected there on February 2. Twelve days later Faber and his companions

[1] *Life of Newman*, i., p. 197. [2] Dr. Griffiths.

were received, and Faber became nominally a novice under Newman. The period of the novitiate was, however, reduced in his case to five months, and even during this short time he was frequently absent. He remained several weeks with a lay brother who was dying at Cotton; and besides travelling about the country to preach at different places, he spent a considerable time by the seaside for the benefit of his health. On July 22 he was dispensed from further novitiate and appointed novice-master. For a while both houses were kept up—St. Wilfrid's, Cotton Hall, and Maryvale. Newman resided at the latter, Cotton Hall being used as the novitiate.

While the above events were in progress in the Midlands Dr. Wiseman was engaged in establishing another community in London—that of the Passionists. As soon as he was appointed to his new office, it was regarded as more than probable that he would bring his favourite religious Congregation after him. They did not give up their foundation at Aston, and indeed they had already opened a branch from it at Woodchester, in Gloucestershire, on the estate of Mr. William Leigh, one of the early Oxford converts; but they considered that they were getting enough subjects to establish a third house. They had recently had a notable accession to their body in the person of Rev. George Spencer, who joined them in 1846, and took the name of Ignatius, by which he has become popularly known; and they had plenty of other aspirants to their Congregation.

Having received an invitation from Dr. Wiseman, therefore, Father Dominic set out for London before Ascension Day. Dr. Wiseman had secured a house for them at Hampstead, and after a short delay, due to some misunderstanding with Mr. Henry Bagshawe, who was in temporary occupation of the house, St. Joseph's Retreat was established there on the feast of Pentecost, 1848.

In the following year a further foundation was made at St. Helens, Lancashire, where a large church and monastery were built; and a new church was also built at Aston. But in the midst of this success and development, the Congregation in England were deprived of the services of their founder, Father Dominic, whose death took place with tragic suddenness. Although somewhat anticipating the order of events, it

Rev. Frederick William Faber

will be convenient to describe it here. It occurred on August 27, 1849. On the morning of that day he left London for Woodchester, intending to proceed to Aston to assist at the opening of the new church. He was taken ill on the journey, soon after leaving Reading, and was taken out of the train at the little wayside station—as it then was—of Pangbourne. It would seem that some difficulty was made about receiving him in the inn, as cholera was about, and it was feared that he might be suffering from that disease. He was received first into a cottage, but after a short time an up train arrived, in which he was placed and taken back to Reading. There he was received in the Railway Hotel in Faversham Street, where he died during the night,[1] attended only by the Passionist father who was travelling with him. Thus he died a death in poverty wholly conformable to his life, and should the Church in after times decide in favour of the process which has been begun, to place him over her altars, the humility and sanctity of his death will be not the least of his glories.

Another foundation of religious men in London took place in the same year as that of the Passionists, though Bishop Wiseman was in this case less directly concerned with it. We allude to the Redemptorists. An offer had been made to them to settle in London in 1844, but they had then refused it, for want of subjects. There were then only seven Fathers in England. In 1848, however, they considered that they were in a position to make a beginning, and with Dr. Wiseman's approval, they secured the house formerly belonging to Lord Teignmouth, and the head-quarters of the Bible Society. The first Mass was said there on August 2, 1848, Dr. Talbot—afterwards well known as the friend and counsellor of Pius IX. —preaching in the morning and Dr. Wiseman in the evening.

The following notice from the *Oxford Herald* is worth giving as showing the spirit prevalent at that time:—[2]

"At Clapham the Order of Redemptorists, who have lately established themselves there, are putting forth immense exertions to obtain proselytes, and are causing proportion-

[1] So says Father Pius Devine in his *Life of Father Dominic*. Father Gaudentius, in his memoir in the *Tablet*, says that Father Dominic died at three o'clock in the afternoon.

[2] See the *Weekly Orthodox Journal*, January 27, 1849, p. 60, where the article is quoted.

ate alarm among the friends of Evangelical truth, who have long made that locality their favourite settlement. . . . The monastery, situate near the Common, is furnished with a large bell, which causes, I hear, much annoyance to the peaceable inhabitants of the vicinity by ringing out at most unseasonable hours for Matins. It is even stated that a petition to Parliament is in course of preparation at Clapham against these troublesome intruders; and truly it would be hard to say why Protestants should be annoyed by such Popish bell-ringing in a country whose laws confine the right of having and using bells to the National Church."

Although the title of Pro-Vicar would seem to indicate that Dr. Wiseman's appointment to London was not yet permanent, he apparently thought that it was practically so, and proceeded to such re-arrangements and developments as he considered to be urgently called for. Several new missions were founded, new religious houses were established, and other pious foundations were set on foot. In a well-known letter to Dr. Newsham, dated January 25, 1850, he describes the work which he had accomplished in the London District during his first two years there:—[1]

"Were it not that it pleases the Divine Wisdom to temper my consolations with heavy trials," he writes, "I should fear I was having too much reward here. It is hard perhaps to describe in a letter what is going on. Externally something can be seen: e.g. in less than two years we have established—and I hope solidly—seven new communities of women and three of men in this District; have opened two orphan houses; have set up an excellent middle school, or grammar school, containing seventy boys already; and have opened four new missions in the heart of the poor population and at least seven in different parts.[2] This year I have a good pros-

[1] *Life of Wiseman*, i., p. 516.

[2] The three communities of men alluded to were the Passionists, the Redemptorists, and the Oratorians—for the letter was written after the foundation of the London Oratory. The communities of women are more difficult to identify. The *Directory* of 1850, which was issued just at the time that Dr. Wiseman's letter was written, enumerates sixteen convents in the London District (not counting one in course of construction at Jersey). They were the Benedictines at Hammersmith, Winchester, and London Road, St. George's Fields; the Sepulchrines of New Hall, Chelmsford; the religious of the Sacré Cœur at Acton; the Faithful Companions at Isleworth, Somerstown, Hampstead,

pect of four great establishments springing up in London. Yet all this I consider as nothing compared with what I hope is latently and spiritually being done. The vast increase of communions, the numbers of admirable conversions, the spread of devotional and charitable associations, the increased piety

Tottenham, and St. Leonard's-on-Sea (*sic*); the Sisters of Mercy at Bermondsey, Queen's Square, and Chelsea; the sisters of the Good Shepherd at Hammersmith; those of the Faithful Virgins at Norwood; and the Notre Dame Convent at Clapham. All these however are enumerated in the *Directory* for 1847, in the lifetime of Dr. Griffiths, before Dr. Wiseman came to London, except four—those at London Road, Norwood, Clapham, and St. Leonard's-on-Sea—all South of the Thames. The convent in Southwark was part of "Father Thomas's" original scheme. The community was established by one Miss Agnew, who had been a Sister of Mercy at Bermondsey, and it was notable for strictness of rule; but it was never canonically approved, and Dr. Grant on his arrival ordered the nuns to leave. The Notre Dame sisters came to Clapham in order to follow the Redemptorists. The convent with which Dr. Wiseman was most closely connected, however, was that of the Holy Child at St. Leonard's, wrongly described in the above list as of the Faithful Companions. They were first established under his influence at Derby in 1846, by the well-known Mrs. Connelly, whose history is a curious one. Her husband, Rev. Pierce Connelly, was an Episcopalian minister in the United States. Both became Catholics in 1835, and a few years later they separated by mutual consent, Mr. Connelly becoming a priest and his wife a nun. He was ordained in 1845; but three years later he gave up the faith, and instituted a suit in the Court of Chancery against his wife for restitution of conjugal rights. The verdict was in his favour, but was set aside on appeal to the Privy Council, and she was judicially freed from further interference. In 1852 Pierce Connelly made a final but vain attempt, and sent in a petition to the House of Commons; but it led to no result. He had already removed the three children of the marriage from their Catholic schools in England, and retired with them to Florence, where he brought them up Protestants, while he himself became, and remained until his death in 1883, a practising clergyman of the Church of England. Rev. Mother Connelly lived until 1879 as superioress of the Convent which is to this day in a flourishing condition, and a centre from which other foundations have taken their rise.

The new churches in the populous parts of London alluded to were Bunhill Row, Spicer Street (Spitalfields), Webb Street (Southwark), and the King William Street Oratory. The orphanages, according to the *Directory*, had not increased in number, for though a new one had been opened at North Hyde, Southall, on the other hand, one at Gosport had been closed. There were four—Somerstown, Hampstead, Bunhill Row, and North Hyde. The second orphanage alluded to by Dr. Wiseman was no doubt that under the care of the nuns at Norwood, which opened shortly afterwards. The middle-class school was established in Gordon Square, but subsequently migrated to John Street, where it continued for seven or eight years. It was conducted by lay converts, and was an attempt to give Catholics some of the advantages of a "public school" education. Among the pupils educated there may be named John Cahill, afterwards Bishop of Portsmouth, Abbot Bergh, O.S.B., Richard Davey, the author, and Joseph Gasquet, brother of the Cardinal. The school was afterwards bought up by Mr. James Morris, brother of the Bishop, and continued for a time as a proprietary school on a similar basis to Mr. Butt's well-known school at Baylis House, or Dr. Kenny's at Richmond.

of the faithful in every class, are less known, though still manifest to all."

The feature of the year 1848, so far as London Catholics were concerned, was the opening of what has from the first been known as St. George's Cathedral. Its erection was the life-work of the Rev. Thomas Doyle, or "Father Thomas," as he always called himself in print, who had been at the mission since 1820 and head priest since 1829. From that time forward he devoted himself to his one great idea—to raise a church in South London where the Church's ritual could be carried out in a manner comparable to that known in Catholic England in olden times. When Pugin came on the scene, Father Thomas at once enlisted his help, and partly on account of its prominent position in the metropolis, but also on account of its intrinsic beauty, St. George's has always ranked as one of the best-known churches of the great Gothic architect.

At the beginning indeed there were not wanting grave difficulties which are never absent in a good work of that magnitude. Father Thomas had large ideas and was determined to realise them; but in so poor a locality the collection of a sum of money at all comparable to what he aimed at seemed a hopeless task. With characteristic energy and determination, however, he went far outside the limits of his mission in quest of help, and even outside the limits of this country, and he continued to beg year after year. By 1840 he had sufficient to warrant a commencement, and he called on Pugin to make a comprehensive plan to place before a Committee which he had formed. Pugin obeyed and produced drawings of a lofty church of noble proportions, with a central tower, and a priests' residence and convent adjoining. He had visions of a great Cathedral, on a magnificent scale, to be gradually built by successive generations, after the manner of the ancient Cathedrals of England. The drawings which he made still remain, to bear witness to the great scheme he pictured to himself.[1] When he met the Committee, however, they so little entered into his scheme that they put matter-of-fact business questions—How soon will it be finished? What

[1] The exterior and interior views were published in Ferrey's *Recollections*, pp. 168 and 170. It is noticeable that though a fine rood is shown, supported on an arch at the entrance of the nave, there was to be no screen.

will be the total cost? What the sitting accommodation? What parts can be simplified so as to save cost? and the like,—and he gathered up his plans and abruptly departed.

It was only with difficulty that he was persuaded to draw a new set of plans, on a different scale, prepared with a strict view to a maximum of accommodation at a minimum of expense. The result was the building now so well known. As originally carried out, however, it had one essential difference from its present state; for it contained a very beautiful stone screen, which has since been taken down and re-erected in different form at the other end of the church—a change which completely alters the general appearance.[1] It is noticeable that although the church stands east and west, the altar is at the west end; and this was also to have been the case in Pugin's great original scheme, being due to the exigencies of the site, the east end having a fine street frontage at an important part. There is a beautiful (so-called) east window, the gift of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Among the chief benefactors may also be named Mr. John Knill, then of the Manor House, Walworth, whose son and grandson successively held the post of Lord Mayor of London, and Mr. Edward Petre, M.P., who died shortly before the opening.

The church was begun on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, September 8, 1840. In the following May a formal laying of the foundation-stone took place. It is interesting to note that as the ceremony was in the open air, it was deemed prudent to hold it privately, for in the event of a crowd assembling it was feared that there might be unpleasantness. Accordingly, the intention to hold it was kept secret, and the congregation were not informed. It took place on May 26, at seven o'clock in the morning, and passed off unobserved. In the absence of "Father Thomas," the stone was laid by Rev. John White. Pugin was present, as well as the builder, Mr. George Myers, and a few of the local clergy—not more than twenty persons in all.

The work proceeded slowly, owing to the difficulty of raising funds. It was not until the summer of 1848 that the building was at all fit to be opened. Even then it was far from finished; and in fact the tower and spire, which formed an

[1] The rood has since been replaced and now hangs from the roof.

integral part of the plan, have never been built to the present day.

It was a fortunate coincidence that the opening of St. George's coincided with Dr. Wiseman's first year in London, not only because he loved a great ceremony, but also because his continental reputation enabled him to make an international solemnity of it. As St. George's had long been the church of the Belgian Embassy, it was natural to ask the Bishops of that country, and two—the Bishops of Tournai and Liege—accepted. The bishops of the adjoining dioceses of Treves and Luxembourg also came ; but owing to the progress of the Revolution days none of the French bishops could come. It was only four days after the thrilling news had arrived of the death of Monseigneur Affre, Archbishop of Paris, from wounds received when he was shot on the barricades, and quite a sensation was caused when Dr. Wiseman from the pulpit read out a letter he had written with no prospect of death in his mind, regretting his inability to leave Paris whilst affairs looked so threatening.

The ceremony had been fixed for Tuesday, July 4, and some idea may be formed of the eagerness with which London Catholics looked forward to it, when it is stated that for every seat within the nave the charge was a guinea, and not only was every seat occupied, but double the number of tickets could have been sold if there had been room. Dr. Wiseman himself celebrated the Mass,[1] walking last in the great procession which included thirteen Bishops, representatives of seven religious Orders or Congregations, and 240 priests. Many of these came from abroad, and were not a little astonished to see such a sight in Protestant London, and not without reason, for most assuredly nothing in the least resembling it had been seen in this country for nearly three centuries.

[1] There is a well-known tradition that by some extraordinary oversight, no Bishop had been asked to sing the Mass. This gave rise to a difficult case of conscience: it was manifestly impossible to postpone the ceremony, and the only alternative was for some priest or Bishop to celebrate a second time on the same day. If this tradition is well founded—and there seems every reason to believe that it is—that would account for Bishop Wiseman undertaking the double office of celebrating the Mass and preaching, which he rarely did on such occasions. The matter would have come before him for decision, and he would probably have preferred to accept the responsibility himself rather than ask some one else to do so. It is perhaps not surprising that no written evidence on such a delicate subject has come down to us.

Cathedrale Catholique
de Londres.

St: George's Catholic Church.
Southwark.

Duomo Cattolico
di Londra

The ceremonies were carried out with full solemnity,[1] and a special choir was engaged for the occasion, which included some of the best-known singers of the Italian Opera—Mario and Tamburini, both good Catholics—but no females were allowed to take part in it, the soprano part being taken by boys. After the Gospel Dr. Wiseman preached one of his most impressive sermons. In the afternoon Vespers were sung, and a sermon preached by Dr. Gillis, the Scotch Vicar Apostolic, after which Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was given.

The press was well represented, and wrote sympathetically of the ceremony. The only fault *The Times* had to find concerned the appearance of the Catholic clergy, whom it characterised as the reverse of good looking. One of the other newspapers candidly admitted that if it was "a source of gratification to Catholics," it was one "of deep sorrow to many Protestants". This latter idea, however, was certainly far from the minds of those who assisted at the ceremony. Dr. Wiseman himself, with all his hopeful zeal for the conversion of England, would have had no reason to wish ill to our non-Catholic brethren. The feeling of those who assisted at the ceremony was one of joyful thanksgiving for the raising of this temple to God in their country, to which they found a sympathetic response in the many foreign Catholics who had joined them that day; and it is safe to say that this feeling was not marred by any thought of controversial advantage or any note of supposed triumph. They joined with Pugin in rejoicing at the return of some small portion of the glories of the past.

[1] Among the serving boys on this occasion were Hon. Edmund Stonor, the future Archbishop, and Herbert Vaughan, afterwards Cardinal.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PROPOSED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE HOLY SEE.

In order to understand the nature of Dr. Wiseman's mission to England in August, 1847, it is necessary to recall the familiar facts concerning the election of Pope Pius IX. and the early years of his pontificate. When Gregory XVI. died Rome was in a difficult or even a critical state. The late Pontiff had been called upon by the chief European powers—of whom England was one—in a collective note in the year 1831 to carry out various reforms in the administration of his States which in fact had never been effected. Whatever prospect there might have been of his showing a more progressive spirit in the latter part of his pontificate was prevented by the insurrection in Bologna in 1843, under the instigation of Mazzini. The insurrection indeed was soon quelled; but it left behind it as a legacy the necessity of repressive measures, such as were congenial to the mind of the Secretary of State, Cardinal Lambruschini. The aspirations for national independence, and the longing to oust the Austrians from Lombardy awakened no response in his mind; he adopted the saying of Metternich that Italy was nothing more than a geographical term, and identified all the phases of the new movement under the general idea of the desire for revolution.

But the new movement was far too strong to be repressed. It had two distinct branches. Those who belonged to the "Young Italy" party led by Mazzini wished for a united Italy at the expense of the Papacy; but there was a counter movement among those who remained orthodox Catholics and followed the lead of Vincenzo Gioberti, the well-known Piedmontese priest, in calling out for a federation of the Italian states, with the Pope as President. Gioberti declared that the Pope was not only no impediment to a United Italy,

but that he was the greatest glory of the country. He called upon his countrymen, while relying on the King of Sardinia for military strength, to make the position of the Pope and the Holy See the centre of their aspirations.

When after the death of Pope Gregory the Cardinals went into Conclave, there were practically two candidates for the tiara. One was Cardinal Lambruschini, whose election would have stood for the continuation of the late Pope's repressive policy; the other was Cardinal Mastai Feretti, who was known to wish to work with the new movement, and to guide it rather than repress it. Naturally the Austrians looked on with a jealous eye, and were ready to use their power of vetoing the latter candidate; but their purpose was frustrated by their envoys being delayed on the road, while with almost unexampled rapidity the Cardinals elected Mastai Feretti on the second day of the Conclave.

Of the long line of Pontiffs who have occupied the chair of St. Peter, few have had a greater power of generating personal enthusiasm than Pius IX., whose memory seems even now to be fresh amongst us. His presence we are told combined a dignity and sweetness which engendered at the same time respect for his office and love for his character; and his whole manner and bearing contrasted curiously with the somewhat formal and old-fashioned appearance of his predecessor. Born at Sinigaglia on the shores of the Adriatic in 1792, he had studied in Rome, and was living there in 1809 when Pius VII. was carried off to exile by the French. For that holy Pontiff he had an unbounded admiration and felt a keen sympathy with him in his misfortunes which he faced so bravely—little thinking that the time would come when he as the successor of Pius VII. would be called upon to undergo similar trials. After his ordination he held successively the posts of Archbishop of Spoleto and Bishop of Imola, which although not an Archbishopric was a more important see. He also accompanied Mgr. Muzi (afterwards Bishop) in a diplomatic mission to Chili in 1823, and was afterwards fond of saying that he was the first Pope who had seen the New World. In 1832 he was raised to the purple; and hence on the death of Pope Gregory, he left Imola to assist in the election of the new Pope, who was destined to be himself.

The events at the outset of his Pontificate are well known —the amnesty granted to all political prisoners on July 16, 1846; the numerous reforms in administration; the promise of a regular constitution, which was afterwards carried into effect. Yet at the end of a year, the correspondent of the *Tablet* described him as looking much older and careworn, and said that he appeared "heart-broken at the manner in which his incessant endeavours to content his subjects have been met by continually increasing demands, often not very respectfully expressed".

A further trial still awaited him when the Austrians, with ill-concealed apprehension at the course events were taking, used the power granted to them under the Treaty of Vienna, to send a garrison of 1,500 men to occupy the citadel of Ferrara. Not content with this, they also—under a strained interpretation of the Treaty—took possession of the town on August 6; and this they professed to do in order to guard the Pope's own interests, though he solemnly protested against their action.

The Pope felt his position acutely. Though he had an army in the field ready and anxious to fight, and though the people could with difficulty be restrained, he declared that as chief Pastor of Christendom, nothing would induce him to go to war against the Austrians; yet it was evident that he could not tolerate the position of a force belonging to a foreign power occupying a city in his dominions. The resources of diplomacy were alone open to him, and he turned his eyes amongst other directions to England.

By a curious combination of circumstances the British Government, notwithstanding their traditional anti-Papal feeling, had more than once in recent times been the defenders of the Pope, from their natural sense of justice and fair play, and their desire to protect the weak against the unjust aggressor. In the present instance there was good reason to look for help from Great Britain. A Liberal government had just come into power, and they were known to be in sympathy with the new policy of Pius IX. The Foreign Secretary was Lord Palmerston, who had already shown on which side his feelings lay, by threatening, in the event of the Austrians overstepping their rightful limits, to send the English fleet to Trieste.

At that time, however, there was considerable difficulty in the Pope appealing to England, owing to the state of the law in this country; for a British Minister was not allowed to recognise his position, and no direct communication was possible between the two Governments. The law as it stood, however, had little to recommend it, and indeed it bore the appearance almost of panic legislation: at any rate, at that date, the middle of the nineteenth century, any danger to Protestant ascendancy from diplomatic intercourse between the Roman Court and that of St. James seemed unworthy of serious consideration; while in view of the large number of British subjects who professed allegiance to the Holy See, it was manifest that questions would be of frequent occurrence in which an exchange of views would be helpful to both parties. The cumbersome arrangement of transacting such business through the Hanoverian Ambassador as an intermediary was full of drawbacks, and in many ways open to grave objection.

The question of the possibility of amending the law had been raised more than once in recent times. In 1828, when Dr. Gradwell was leaving Rome for England, a suggestion of the kind had been made; but the Pope of that day—Leo XII. —naturally looked upon the removal of Catholic disabilities as a necessary preliminary to any such "concordat," and until this was done, he considered the matter outside practical politics. When, however, Emancipation had been passed this difficulty disappeared, and the question was once more mooted during the pontificate of Gregory XVI.

"It was, if I remember aright, on the 27th of March, 1835," writes Wiseman,[1] "that his Holiness Pope Gregory XVI. summoned me to attend on him without delay. On my coming to his presence he graciously informed me that an English nobleman, well known in the diplomatic world, had come to Rome, and had solicited an audience through his Eminence Cardinal Weld, with intention to speak on the subject of renewing official relations between the Holy See and the British Empire. After asking me such questions as he thought fit, his Holiness concluded the subject by words to this effect: 'It is the duty of the English Government to take the first step. We have no laws to repeal on this subject, but could

[1] *Words of Peace*, etc., p. 6.

enter on such intercourse to-morrow. But England has a law, most discreditable to itself, and insulting to the Holy See, which prohibits it. It must begin by repealing that, and then we can begin to treat. This will be only an act of justice on its part.'"

The matter did not proceed further at the time; but now in the altered circumstances, Pope Pius IX. was so anxious to bring the reconciliation about that he was prepared to make advances informally and privately. It was known that Lord Minto, the father-in-law of Lord John Russell, and a member of the Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal, had been deputed to go to Italy on a roving commission to visit the various Governments, and use the British influence to induce them to effect certain reforms. The Pope hoped that a visit to Rome might be arranged as part of his mission, and sending for Dr. Wiseman, he begged him to go at once to England, so as to get there before Lord Minto's departure, and to endeavour to arrange matters in the sense indicated.

Dr. Wiseman accordingly set out on August 24, and reached London on September 11—about a week before the date fixed for the departure of Lord Minto. He lost no time in bringing the matter before the British Government. The memorial which he presented to Lord Palmerston is given in full in the *Life of Wiseman*,[1] and need not be repeated here: it is sufficient to say that Lord Palmerston agreed to his request, and issued instructions to Lord Minto to visit Rome, "not as a Minister accredited to the Pope, but as an authentic organ of the British Government, enabled to declare its views and express its sentiments upon events which are now passing in Italy, which both from their local importance and from their bearing on the general interests of Europe Her Majesty's Government are watching with great attention and anxiety".

The mission of Lord Minto, so far as the rest of Italy was concerned, was not considered a success, and was practically barren of results. Even in Rome, although during a stay extending over three months he did some useful work in breaking down the barrier which separated the British and Papal Governments, he was not altogether felicitous in his conduct. He made an unfavourable impression by the open

[1] Vol. i., Appendix A.

manner in which he fraternised with Ciceroacchio and other Liberals of the most advanced type, and excited the wrath of Lucas in the *Tablet*.

In the meantime, however, Lord Palmerston was already taking steps to enforce the views of the British Government on the action of Austria at Ferrara, and it was chiefly due to his strong representations that orders were given to withdraw the troops from the city, and to keep them strictly within their treaty rights. This took place on December 16, 1847. Throughout the negotiations the inconvenience of having no regular channel of communication between England and Rome was much felt, and with some courage the Government determined to face popular prejudice and once for all to bring this senseless state of things to an end. Lord Minto had been able to report that the re-establishment of diplomatic relations would be favourably viewed by the Pope, so that nothing remained but to bring in a bill to authorise the Government to take the necessary steps.

A short bill for this purpose was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Lansdowne early in the session of 1848. In recommending it for its second reading on February 17, he declared that in his opinion the existing law did not prohibit such relations; he contended that the words in the *Bill of Rights* and in the *Act for the further Limitation of the Crown*, which had usually been held to do so, only referred to spiritual intercourse between the Church of England and the See of Rome, and he wished to maintain such prohibition both in spirit and letter. He argued that politically the British Government had frequently recognised the court of Rome—as in the Treaty of Vienna—and friendly communications had passed with the Pope when he wrote to congratulate King George IV. on his accession. The King had answered him, and although he had soon had qualms of conscience and had sent a second messenger to overtake the first and suppress the letter, in point of fact he had failed to overtake him, and the letter had been delivered.

In the debate which followed, a curious and strained anxiety was observable lest the proposed measure should in some way endanger the supremacy of the Protestant religion, or should alarm the people in that sense; but no serious ob-

jection was raised, and the bill was read a second time without a division. In Committee, however, two changes were made. One of these concerned the title of the Holy Father, who in the first draft had been designated "the Sovereign Pontiff"—an expression never before used in English law. In response to a proposal by the Duke of Wellington, this was altered to "the Sovereign of the Roman States". The change was not without its importance, as emphasising the fact that the proposed diplomatic relations were to be wholly concerned with the Pope as a temporal sovereign and not at all with his spiritual relations with his Catholic subjects in Ireland and England. In practice, however, it was easy to see that once the diplomatic relations were established, there could not be any real limitation as to the matters which might form the subject of negotiation.

The other change made was of a more important kind, and was designed to limit the Pope's freedom in choice of a Nuncio, inasmuch as it enacted that he must not be an ecclesiastic. Considering the practice of the Roman court in this respect, this was a limitation which might well have been expected to endanger the whole scheme. The Earl of Shrewsbury protested that no relations were possible except on terms of reciprocity: if the British Government refused to receive an ecclesiastic, the Pope in his turn might refuse to receive a Protestant; and this state of things he said actually obtained in the case of Prussia. When put to the vote, the amendment was carried by the small majority of three votes—67 to 64. The bill was then sent to the Commons, but a delay of six months occurred before it was proceeded with.

The bill was received with great favour by the ordinary leaders of the Catholics in England. In the recently founded *Rambler* many important results were prophesied; for it was said that the interchange of diplomatic courtesies must lead to a practical concordat which would involve such measures as settling the temporalities of the Catholics on a secure and lasting basis, and similar matters. The following paragraph will well illustrate the hopeful anticipation with which the upper classes of the English Catholics viewed the measure:—[1]

"Bitter for the fate of Europe was the day when the last

[1] *Rambler*, February 19, 1848, p. 129.

Nuncio left the shores of Britain. Accursed was that delusion that separated for three centuries those who had been true friends and brothers, notwithstanding all the contests that had at times sprung up between Kings and Popes on their respective privileges. And right joyfully and thankfully shall we welcome the hour when we see the last of that preposterous remnant of days of cruelty and ignorance which now forbids the Queen of England to treat as a Queen with the greatest Prince of his age. . . . Until the present ministry had the courage to act like men of sense and common charity, there has not been found a statesman bold enough to lift up his hand to tear away this last rag of national masquerading."

There was, however, another aspect in which the bill was viewed, connected as so often before with the different conditions governing the state of Catholics in Ireland from that of their brethren in England. Many of the Irish Bishops and clergy were apprehensive of the effect of the proposed Act in that country, and the possibility of its being used by the British Government for political ends—"to govern Ireland through Rome," as it was said. These sentiments were voiced by Lucas in the *Tablet*. He denounced the whole bill in unmeasured language. He declared that the Government had "openly avowed that its design in forwarding the measure [was] the hope of being able to use the spiritual influence of Rome in Ireland as an instrument of party warfare," and said that "to the army of spies and perjurers by whom what they call law in Ireland is to be upheld, is to be added, they hope, a great supplementary spy in Rome, whose spiritual influence is to help out the thorough performance of that dirty work which native tools are unable to accomplish".

The Irish Bishops, though they did not use such strong language, took substantially the same view, and sent up a petition to the Pope praying him not to accept the proposed diplomatic relations. They also communicated with some of the English Vicars Apostolic. Dr. Briggs consulted with two of his colleagues, one of whom was Dr. Ullathorne, and they declared themselves in sympathy with this view. Finally Lucas took steps to bring the matter before the Catholic public generally, through the Society of St. Thomas of Canterbury, calling a meeting to protest against the bill. The

meeting was held at the Freemasons' Hall on March 20. A large number of Catholics attended, the hall being filled to overflowing. The aristocracy indeed were conspicuous by their absence, and none of the Bishops attended, so that the meeting formed a complete contrast to those held under the auspices of the Catholic Institute; and both the large attendance and the general tone of the meeting—the groans and other marks of disapprobation by which the names of Lord Shrewsbury and the ordinary Catholic leaders were greeted—alike bore witness to the personal influence of Frederick Lucas. So strong was the feeling that most of those who stayed away resigned their membership of the Association. There were a few representative priests present, such as Revv. Robert Whitty —Lucas's cousin—and James O'Neal, both in their turn Vicars General, and Rev. Frederick Oakeley, the Oxford convert, but the majority of the clergy stayed away. Among the prominent laymen present was W. G. Ward, who undertook to second the main resolution, which was to be proposed by Lucas. It was couched in the following terms :—

"That this meeting regards with great distrust the bill now before the House of Commons, entitled 'An Act for enabling her Majesty to establish and maintain diplomatic relations with the Court of Rome,' because the sentiments avowed and notoriously entertained by the leading members of the legislature make it in the opinion of this meeting absolutely certain that their main design in the measure is to have an effectual means of interfering in Catholic ecclesiastical affairs, and of applying threats and other temporal coercion to compel the Holy See to use its spiritual influence for the promotion of their own political views in this empire, and particularly in Ireland."

This was proposed by Lucas in one of his most vigorous speeches, in which he denounced the Whigs and declared their intentions to be wholly corrupt. He said that twenty Irish Bishops had sent a Memorial to Rome praying the Holy Father not to accept the proposed diplomatic relations, and it was now proposed that the English Catholics should follow their example. Mr. Ward followed with a combative speech which was received with much cheering. He declared that it was an unexampled piece of political impudence "in asking for concessions from the Supreme Pontiff to fetter the

Catholic Church, to offer nothing in return; nay more, to accompany their solicitation with insult". With respect to Ireland, he said that "he had no connection with the country either by birth or relationship; he was united to it only by the warmest affections, and the most sacred of all ties, that of religion". "He thought it their bounden duty to assure the Holy Father that the English Catholics were animated by the strongest love and attachment to their Irish brethren, and to put themselves at the head of their poor and oppressed countrymen, and offer a bold and unquailing front against the awful and unimaginable tyranny and cruelty to which they were the victims."

After a few more speeches and resolutions, the Rev. Frederick Oakeley proposed that a memorial be sent to Rome expressive of the sense of the meeting, which was carried unanimously. The full text of the Memorial can be found in the Appendix;[1] it is sufficient here to say that while it was admitted that in itself the establishment of diplomatic relations might be good and even desirable in some circumstances, as in the recent case of the establishment of relations with America, yet in the case of England, it was declared that the promoters of the bill were not actuated by friendly feelings towards the Holy See. It was contended that the primary object of the Government was to use the Pope's spiritual influence to enforce their policy in Ireland; but even with regard to England it was argued that nothing was to be gained by what was described as "concessions" on the part of the Holy See. In support of the contentions put forward, attention was directed to the speeches of responsible politicians, and as something tangible, to the objectionable amendments made in the bill by the House of Lords.

It was impossible to deny that the holding of this meeting created a difficult state of things for Dr. Wiseman, who within a few months of his coming to London thus found himself opposed by a large section of his subjects and other Catholics, backed up by the Irish Bishops, as well as by several of the English Vicars Apostolic. The state of affairs was further complicated by his recent disagreement with Frederick Lucas, as Editor of the *Tablet*, alluded to in the last chapter.

[1] See Appendix L.

Finally matters were not improved for him when he learnt that Dr. Briggs had suddenly started for Rome, in company with Archbishop McHale, in order to press their view of the case. He wrote to Dr. Ullathorne as follows:—[1]

"Of course your Lordship is informed by this time that Dr. Briggs is, with Dr. McHale, on his way to Rome. It seems to me that we ought to have been informed of the intention of his Lordship to go. At any rate, with differences of opinion in our body (as I learnt for the first time from your Lordship's conversation) on which no communication was made amongst us, one cannot but feel uneasy at such a sudden and unexplained journey to Rome. Perhaps your Lordship may be able to throw some light on the subject, and allay my uneasiness, which I know others share. Is our meeting to be as usual? If so, we shall be a *Pusillus Grex*."

Dr. Wiseman met the crisis by issuing a pamphlet, under the title of "Words of Peace and Justice addressed to the Catholic Clergy and Laity of the London District," in which he took a bold line throughout. The following paragraph, in which he explains his position, will show how strong party feeling was, and how keenly he himself felt on the subject:—

"On too many sides do I see," he wrote, "and from too many quarters do I hear of the evils which are resulting from the agitation of this question for me any longer to dissemble it. Those who do not join in opposition to this measure are familiarly spoken of as ready to sacrifice interests of religion to Protestant Government favour; as betrayers of their sacred trusts; as willing to deliver the Church bound hand and foot over to the State, and to give a veto to the latter. I say it in sorrow and humiliation, distinction is openly made between Bishop and Bishop, in the one Catholic Church, according as they are supposed to think on this question, suggesting to the faithful, and alas! to the joyful enemies of our holy faith, that disunion prevails (which God forbid!) between its teachers, and that the watchers of the City of God have set up each a separate banner round which the partisans are called to rally, 'For

[1] This letter has been kindly put into my hands, with others, by Rev. Joseph Parker, who was Dr. Ullathorne's secretary during the last years of his life. It is only dated "Friday"; but from its contents it appears that it must have been written about Easter, 1848, and the allusion at the end of the above paragraph is to the annual Low Week meeting of the Bishops.

Sion's sake,' then, 'I will not hold my peace; and for the sake of Jerusalem I will not rest. . . .'

"Had the meeting convened at Freemasons' Hall on Monday, the 20th March, contented itself with putting forth a document embodying its own views and those of the persons composing it, it would not have been for me to interfere. They as individuals have a right to hold and declare their opinions. But when this meeting not only assumes itself to be the representatives of 'the Catholics of London,' clergy of course and laity; but when, further, it has constituted itself a permanent organ, a public body engaged in procuring signatures all over the kingdom to its address to the Pope; when this address to my conscience is derogatory to the honour due to the Sovereign Pontiff, and is an attempt to interfere with his sacred prerogatives; when, moreover, it has been actually presented for signatures on Sunday last in poor-schools and at the doors of churches and chapels, for the teaching of which I am responsible to God and His Church, without my consent and knowledge; nay, when I learn even that it has been read from the altar as though it had been an episcopal pastoral, thus captivating the simplicity of the flock; when consequently this Memorial is intended to be laid at the feet of his Holiness as containing the opinions and feelings of the Catholics of England, but principally of London; and as moreover in this city it has been drawn up; from it it emanates; from it it will be forwarded to the Holy Father—I feel no alternative left me but to speak openly and plainly to you, beloved brethren and friends, to caution you against being led away; to explain to you, as by my office bound, what I firmly and humbly believe to be the right Catholic view of the subject under discussion, and, however painful and afflicting to me, to make the whole Church know that in the sentiments put forth as those of 'the Catholics of London,' its pastor and bishop (however unworthy) has no part."

He then proceeded to argue the case on its merits. He pointed out with respect to the various Relief Acts that some members of the Government of the day had always spoken in a hostile manner of Catholics; but that this had not prevented them from accepting the bills, because of their intrinsic benefits, and the Acts had worked beneficially. In the present

instance, he said, there was still more reason to look for this result, inasmuch as the Pope himself was one of the contracting parties, and he considered that the attitude of suspicion was a disrespect to the Holy Father.

"How, dear brethren, does the proposed 'Memorial of the Catholics of London' treat the case? It considers it right to keep the Pope at a distance from our Government for fear of his being overcome. It considers their diplomatic wiles too subtle for the Apostolic See and the contest too unequal to be allowed between the successor of St. Peter and the Minister of British Foreign Affairs! It regards the intercourse between the two parties as a mere trial of human skill, as a wrestling between two rivals, the cleverer of whom is sure to trip the other's heels. No grace, no blessing, no Divine guidance, no power of prayer, no spiritual prerogative of the Holy See, no patronage of the Blessed Apostles, no breathings of the Holy Spirit, no promise of Christ, are admitted on the one side: all is human in both. To a Memorial based on such a principle I would rather cut off my right hand than affix my name."

A little later he expressed his grief at the tone of the late meeting, ending by his own panegyric of the Earl of Shrewsbury:—

"How will it sound to Europe," he wrote, "that in a meeting of English Catholics the names of Howard and of Talbot, associated in the minds of all the world with the persecutions, the sufferings, and the generous sacrifices of our ancestors, great names among the few that have persevered in the Faith, were held up as a bye-word, and a signal for scorn —received with 'hisses,' 'groans,' or derisive 'laughter'? . . . But they who were so treated have, thank God, a better trust. The echoes of those uncatholic sounds will have long died away, the very records of what raised them will have perished, and the events of that day will have left no trace in the annals of the Church; when still there will be orphans in St. Mary's Orphanage raising their little hands to heaven in prayer for the representative of that generous, humble, and edifying young nobleman, to whose charity they will owe that asylum. And there will be venerable men, priests of God, who have finished their work in the vineyard, leaning over the

battlements of St. John's Hospital,[1] and looking down into the pleasant vale below, and as they raise their eyes to the opposite wood-clad hill, imparting a priestly blessing to the lioned flag that waves upon its towers. And there will be silent white-cowled monks in St. Bernard's Abbey and aged beadsmen in the shady aisles of St. Barnabas's,[2] and cheerful nuns in the cloisters of Handsworth, and no less cheerful sons of St. Philip, amid the hills of St. Wilfrid's, and fervent worshippers at the gorgeous altars of Cheadle,[3] who will each day remember in prayer the good Earl John of Shrewsbury, whose heart and purse were ever open to the wants of religion; around whose mansion poverty and distress were unknown; who without one act of intolerance spread the faith on every side, and provided munificently for the education of all his poor; who was manifestly employed by Divine Providence as one of its greatest instruments in the restoration of the Church to becoming splendour. If men easily forget these claims to public gratitude, I am sure God will not. Such good deeds may well comfort in life, and cheer the hour of death; shed the dew of rest upon the grave and keep the memory in benediction; and prepare a place at that Right Hand where the doers of works of charity and mercy will have their stand. But 'hiss,' or 'groan,' or mocking 'laughter'—easy as they may be to raise in a popular assembly—never yet brought upon the head of him who did it a blessing from heaven, or a prayer from earth. They are sad sounds in the ear of charity!"

In conclusion, he warned the laity against encroaching on ecclesiastical dominion, and alluding to Lucas having by the title of his Society apparently wished to shelter himself under the authority of St. Thomas, he ended with a touching personal appeal:—

"Need I remind you or others of where or how I have been nourished in the Faith; how from early youth I have grown up under the very shadow of the Apostolic Chair; how week after week I have knelt at the shrine of Peter and there sworn him fealty; how I have served as good masters successive Pontiffs in their very households, and have been admitted

[1] The building intended for this purpose was never finished, and is now used as a Convent.

[2] The present Cathedral of the diocese of Nottingham.

[3] A few miles from Alton, where one of Pugin's best churches had been built.

to confidence, and if I dare say it, friendship with them? And is it likely that I shall be behind any other, be he neophyte or Catholic of ancient stock, in defending the rights of my holy Lord and Master under Christ; or that I can require the summoning to watch with jealous eye any attempts to infringe them? The second altar at which I knelt in the holy city was that which marks the spot whereon St. Peter cemented the foundations of his unfailing throne with his blood. The first was that of our own glorious St. Thomas. There I returned thanks for the great blessing of being admitted among his children. For two and twenty years I daily knelt before the lively representation of his martyrdom; at that altar I partook ever of the bread of life; there for the first time I celebrated the Divine Mysteries; at it I received the Episcopal consecration. He was my patron, he my father, he my model. Daily have I prayed and do pray to him to give me his spirit of fortitude, to fight the battles of the Church if necessary to the shedding of blood. And when withdrawn from the symbols of his patronage, by the supreme will of the late Pontiff, I sought the treasury of his relics at Sens, and with fervent importunity asked and obtained the mitre which had crowned his martyred head; and I took myself from the shrine of the great Confessor Defender of religious rites, St. Edmund, a part of that right arm which so often was stretched forth to bless your forefathers.

"It is in the presence of these two sacred memorials that I have written to you. It is not the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury which can justify what is done by men, as they may think, for the Church—it is his spirit, his virtues that we must cultivate; but one thing we have which others want—his mission from God for this purpose. His crosier cannot pass to secular hands, his office cannot be made over. It is ours, my reverend brethren, let it not be usurped. Let us, bishop and clergy, fast bound in charity and mutual dutifulness, in zeal and fervour, direct the course and guide the actions of the flock. Let us form them in peaceful and meek habits, in gentleness towards all, in docility and obedience to the teaching of their pastors, in simplicity and earnestness of devotion, *ut ex profectu sanctorum ovium fiant aeterna gaudia pastorum.*"

At the end of the pamphlet, Dr. Wiseman appended a counter-address to the Holy Father, expressing confidence in

his wisdom, and in the supernatural help attached to his office, to avoid any danger and to use the facilities which formed the subject of the bill, for the good of religion and of the Apostolic See.[1] To this Address he invited signatures, declaring, however, that he would far prefer not to send it, and that it would not be sent unless Lucas's Memorial was first sent.

He received a large number of letters in reply. "Though a week has not passed over since the publication of my pamphlet," he wrote,[2] "I have received an immense body of letters. Five Bishops (besides myself), three superior-generals of religious orders, the superiors and professors of three Colleges, seven or eight D.D.'s (Dr. Lingard has expressed his approbation); much above 100 priests, and an immense number of laymen, including whole congregations, and such names as Lord Arundell (Wardour), Sir P. Mostyn, Jerningham, Maxwell, Phillipps, Scott Murray, P. Howard, Huddleston, Scrope, etc., have asked to have their names put to the Address printed at the end of my letter, and I can assure your Lordship that the expressions of indignation at the lay dictation in ecclesiastical affairs are very strong on all sides."

Many of these letters are still extant. The following one, written by Rev. William Weathers, afterwards Bishop Auxiliary to Cardinal Manning, at that time Vice-President of St. Edmund's College, may be taken as typical of others:—[3]

"St. Edmund's College,
"10*th April*, 1848.

"My dear Lord,

"I beg you will allow my name to be put to the petition which you propose to have presented to his Holiness. I fully admit the justice of what your Lordship has said in a very forcible manner; and there is also that charm of beauty which pervades all your Lordship's writings. I think the memorialists might very properly convey to Rome their fears and suspicions of the intentions of the English Government, but they are made to express an absolute distrust in the prudence or firmness of the Sovereign Pontiff by appearing to intend to prescribe how he ought to act. I hope indeed it may

[1] The full text will be found in Appendix L.
[2] To Bishop Ullathorne (*Oscott Archives*).
[3] *Westminster Archives.*

not be found necessary for your Lordship to send the petition which you have prepared, for I fear if it should be accompanied by the Memorial it would leave his Holiness under the impression that we are in a very divided and distracted state, which is the representation that some, I fear, are anxious to make at Rome, and appearing alone, it might still fail to express a very general or unanimous feeling from the number of signatories attached to it. If the Memorial had indeed been intended to be signed in this District alone, I should have entertained great hopes that the matter would have been allowed to drop; but being presented for signatures to the Catholics of other Districts, and being understood to have received the approbation of one if not more than one of the other Vicars Apostolic, I fear there remains no hope but that it may be in some degree modified, to avoid the scandal and bitter feelings that would be engendered by dissension. . . .

"Believe me,

"Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

"W. WEATHERS."

In the meanwhile time was passing away, and it began to appear as though the whole matter would be settled by the Government allowing the bill to drop. This prospect was, however, dispelled when on August 17, shortly before the end of the session, Lord Palmerston brought it before the lower House for second reading. He introduced it by a short speech and must have been somewhat puzzled when he was answered at great length by Chisholm Anstey, who, speaking as a Catholic, boldly moved the rejection of the bill. Nor was he much enlightened when the Earl of Surrey, on behalf of the English Catholics, declared that he differed from Mr. Anstey, and intended to vote for the bill, hoping that the clause restricting the personality of the Nuncio would be struck out in Committee; in default of which he said that he would vote against the third reading. The bill was vigorously opposed by Sir John Inglis, supported—with some reservation—by Mr. Gladstone, then in the early days of his parliamentary career, who, amongst other things, raised the question as to whether the rumoured act of the Pope in dividing England into Catholic dioceses was founded on fact. In answering this question Lord John Russell once more made use of words which were

to be afterwards quoted against him, and which in view of subsequent events are worth giving in full:—[1]

"I do not know" (he said) "that the Pope has authorised in any way, by any authority that he may have, the creation of Archbishops and Bishops with dioceses in England; but certainly I have not given my consent, nor should I give my consent if I were asked to do so, to any such formation of dioceses. With regard to spiritual authority, the honourable gentleman must see, when he alludes to the States of Europe, that whatever control is to be obtained of the spiritual authority of the Pope can only be obtained by agreement to that end. You must either give certain advantages to the Roman Catholic religion and obtain from the Pope certain other advantages in return, amongst which you must stipulate that the Pope must not create any dioceses in England without the consent of the Queen; or on the other hand, you must say that you will have nothing to do with arrangements of that kind—that you will not consent in any way to give authority to the Roman Catholic religion in England. But then you must leave the spiritual authority of the Pope quite unfettered. You cannot bind the Pope's spiritual influence unless you have some agreement. For my own part, I am not disposed to think that it would be for the advantage of this country or that it would be agreeable to the Roman Catholics that we should have an agreement with the Pope by which their religious arrangements should be regulated."

When the division was taken, 125 voted in favour and forty-six against the second reading, which was accordingly carried by a majority of seventy-nine. No changes were made in Committee, and the third reading was carried on August 29, by eighty-eight votes to twenty-five—majority sixty-three. The Royal Assent was given two days later.

By this time, however, many things had happened in Rome. Mr. Gladstone had pointed out that the bill was not opportune at a time when it was hardly known whether there was a Pope; and in point of fact, shortly afterwards Pius IX. had to leave Rome and take refuge in Gaeta, in a manner to which allusion will be made in a subsequent chapter. Hence the question of bringing the new Act into operation remained for the next

[1] *Hansard*, vol. 101, cl. 220.

year or two in abeyance. And we may assuredly regard it as providential that such was the case; for had diplomatic relations been actually established before the restoration of the Hierarchy, that measure could not have been carried into effect without previous communication with the British Government, and a powerful if not an insuperable obstacle would have been set up against its ever coming into operation.

The delay also gave the whole Catholic body time to think over the matter calmly; and when all the excitement had subsided, it began to be evident that Lucas's extreme way of speaking and acting was alienating from him the sympathy of the greater number of English Catholics. He seems to have realised this, and as soon as it became apparent that Dr. Wiseman's position in London was likely to be permanent, Lucas made up his mind to transfer his own residence to Dublin. He carried his resolution into effect before the end of the following year, taking the *Tablet* with him; and it continued to be published in Dublin until his death in 1855.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE HIERARCHY NEGOTIATIONS (*continued*). MISSION OF BISHOP ULLATHORNE.

WE must now return again to the story of the negotiations for the restoration of the Hierarchy, which made great progress during Dr. Wiseman's first year in London, and were only prevented by unlooked-for political events from being brought to a conclusion that year.

We left off at the point when Dr. Wiseman was called back to England and at Fano, on his way, wrote his reply to the objections which had been raised by Cardinal Acton to the restoration of the English Hierarchy. Dr. Sharples wrote a separate reply of his own in Rome, where he stayed through September and most of October (1847), until failing health caused him also to return home. He brought with him a commission to the English Bishops to draw up a scheme for dividing the eight vicariates into twelve dioceses, and to submit it to the Holy See. For this purpose the Bishops came together at Bishop Wiseman's house in Golden Square on November 11.

On coming to close quarters with the project, the Bishops soon found that among a host of details there were four main problems to face. These were (1) the divisions of the new sees; (2) their titles; (3) how to arrange the necessary continuity between the old vicariates and the new dioceses, so as to obtain security for ecclesiastical property and continuance of trusts; and (4) who would be the most suitable person to become the first Archbishop.

With respect to the divisions of the sees a fair measure of unanimity was arrived at. There were only two questions which gave rise to a notable difference of opinion. One was the division of London into two dioceses, separated by the River Thames, which had been proposed in Rome. It was

urged that this division had existed in Catholic days, when the dioceses of London and Rochester were on opposite sides of the river; that the London Vicariate was clearly too large and populous for a single diocese; that geographically the division by the River Thames was the natural one; and that this would give a sufficiently large diocese south of the Thames to be self-supporting. Those who took the opposite side urged the inconvenience of having two dioceses in the same city, and pointed out that before the Reformation the only reason why this difficulty had not arisen was that South London in its present sense did not exist, and all of what was then the city of London was contained in the one diocese. It was eventually decided to draw up the arguments on both sides, and leave Rome to decide. The other question on which the Bishops held different views was somewhat similar—whether it would be wise to divide Lancashire into two dioceses; and again the reasons *pro* and *con* were drawn out and sent to Rome.

The second point, as to the titles of the sees, involved larger questions of policy. The Emancipation Act prohibited the adoption of any of the titles which were then in use by the Anglicans and although it might have been possible to evade the prohibition, or to ignore it, as was done in Ireland, it was not considered wise to do so, especially, as unlike the Irish, the English Catholics had made no attempt to keep up the succession after the Reformation. There remained, however, a certain number of ancient sees which were no longer used by the Anglicans, and which consequently did not fall under the prohibition. Such were, for example, Hexham, Lindisfarne, Dorchester (Oxon), Beverley, Menevia, and others. It was suggested by some that these should be adopted, but others answered that such sees would have no meaning; and that, as in modern England, many new centres of population had arisen, such as Birmingham and Liverpool, which had never been episcopal sees,[1] and could consequently be legally adopted by Catholics. It was contended that the choice of titles should be determined by practical considerations rather than by motives of sentiment, and this view in the end to a great extent—though not universally—prevailed.

[1] It is hardly necessary to point out that at this date the Anglican dioceses of Liverpool and Birmingham had not yet been created.

The third question, that of securing continuity of property and trusts, apparently did not cause much apprehension in the minds of the Bishops. Owing to habits contracted in penal times, they had not been accustomed to rest much on legal support. Most of their property and trusts were held in private names, so as to keep them out of the cognisance of the law, and the persons who held them being Catholics, they could be trusted to act towards the new Bishops as they had before towards the Vicars Apostolic. Hence we find that anxiety on this question was greater in Rome, where the state of affairs in this respect was not fully realised, than in England; and it is sufficient to say here that no difficulty on this head ever in fact arose.

The fourth question—as to who was to be the new Archbishop—was destined to occupy most time and thought in its decision; but it was one about which the Bishops felt a natural delicacy in offering an opinion, concerning, as it did, several of their own number. It must have been evident that Dr. Wiseman was far the best qualified for the post; but he was still comparatively young—he was only forty-five years old—and several of the Bishops were considerably his seniors. Two at least of them—Dr. Walsh and Dr. Briggs—were often spoken of as likely candidates. Under these circumstances the Bishops offered no advice, leaving the matter to the unaided consideration of the Holy See.

Although the Bishops went into the matter with great care, and drew up a complete scheme, by some strange and most unfortunate mistake the result of their deliberations was never sent to Rome at all, and they waited in vain, month after month, for any communication in answer to it.

At least equally strangely, the authorities in Rome drew out a scheme of their own, and that also was never forwarded to its destination. There seems to have been a whole series of misunderstandings; for the Roman scheme was drawn up almost immediately after the departure of Dr. Sharples, although he had understood that the Bishops were to prepare one in England. And the scheme drawn out in Rome was so completely arranged in all details, that it was printed, and the briefs were all made out and engrossed. The whole was even shown to Lord Minto when he visited Rome in the autumn

of that year. The scheme itself aimed at simplicity. No new districts or dioceses were to be created; but each existing district or vicariate was to be converted into a corresponding diocese, and all further subdivision was to be left to the future, as were also all questions as to the position of the second order of clergy, the creation of chapters and parishes, and the like. This had at least the advantage of providing legal continuity, but it would not have led eventually to the best possible divisions of the dioceses. The titles were to be taken in each case from the chief city of the district, but in order to avoid clashing with the Anglican titles, the metropolitan see was to be called Westminster.[1] This title from one point of view was a very felicitous one, for the name is full of associations which have come down from Catholic times, while it also represents a district which contained a large part of the population of "Greater London" as it then existed. Nevertheless, in view of the unique position held by Westminster Abbey in the Anglican Establishment, and the fact that the Canonries had always been kept up there, we can well understand how the assumption of that title afterwards gave offence, and although since Westminster was not an episcopal see in the Establishment,[2] the letter of the Emancipation Act was evaded, it gave more rather than less offence on that account. Lingard was opposed to the title, and prophesied that its adoption would lead to an outburst of feeling, if not to fresh Penal Laws—a forecast entirely justified by the results when the title was adopted three years afterwards.

With respect to the Archiepiscopate, it had at first been intended that Dr. Walsh should be appointed and that Dr. Wiseman should return to Birmingham;[3] but Dr. Walsh begged so earnestly to be excused on the score of illness and old age, that it was decided to leave him undisturbed, and to take the bold course of appointing Dr. Wiseman Archbishop.

The scheme was formally sanctioned by the Pope on November 1, 1847, and the briefs were prepared, dated the 24th of the same month. But they were never forwarded to the persons designated, nor was the scheme ever communicated

[1] The other sees were to be Newcastle, Liverpool, Leeds, Birmingham, Northampton, Newport (Mon.), and Plymouth.

[2] It had been a bishopric for a short time in the reign of Henry VIII.

[3] *Life of Wiseman*, i., p. 463, and elsewhere.

officially to the Bishops. It found its way, however, into the *Tablet* and became generally known, so that Dr. Wiseman tells us that after this he frequently received letters addressed to him as Archbishop of Westminster.

It appears that one reason why the plan was not proceeded with for the time was a difference of opinion as to appointment of Dr. Wiseman, in view of the fact already alluded to that several of the Bishops were considerably his seniors. It was proposed by Mgr. Barnabò to meet the difficulty by transferring Dr. Walsh to London, and appointing Dr. Wiseman his Coadjutor, with the right of succession. This proposal was approved of by Cardinal Fransoni and by the Pope, but it was held back by the continued entreaties of Dr. Walsh to be allowed to end his days in peace in Birmingham.

There were, however, also other forces at work against Dr. Wiseman's appointment even as Coadjutor. In a letter to him[1] written some months later, his friend Rev. Raphael Melia detailed the various rumours which had been circulating against him at that period, which caused Propaganda to remain for the time inactive, and gave Dr. Wiseman the impression that a coolness had arisen in his regard. These he put under three headings. In the first place it was said that Dr. Wiseman was too much under the influence of the aristocracy, who induced him to do things prejudicial to the interests of the Church. It is not difficult to recognise the source of this contention, which was evidently based on his known intimacy with the Earl of Shrewsbury, who at that time was corresponding with the Irish Bishops on the state of religion in that country in a manner detailed in a former chapter.[2] The fact that the Earl of Shrewsbury had recently sent up a petition of laymen to Rome in Dr. Wiseman's favour tended to emphasise this feeling; and when it is remembered that no less a person than Dr. McHale had come to Rome, accompanied by Bishop Briggs, in order to oppose Dr. Wiseman's policy towards the British Government with special reference to the Diplomatic Relations Bill and its probable influence on the state of religion in Ireland, we can well understand that the Holy See would think it wise at least to wait a while, and let

[1] *Westminster Archives.*

[2] See Chapter xxii.

matters develop a little before fixing Dr. Wiseman permanently in London.

The second class of rumours were of a more irresponsible nature, and Dr. Ullathorne evidently thought that they ought not to have been listened to at all. It was said that Dr. Wiseman was spending all the hard-earned savings accumulated by Dr. Griffiths by many years of thrift, and in particular that in this respect he was under the influence of a certain layman, who turned out to be Mr. Henry Bagshawe. There was probably some foundation for the first part of the rumour, for Dr. Wiseman was never a successful financial administrator, and during his archiepiscopate he left such affairs to others. When he first came to London he was convinced—rightly or wrongly—that a more rapid development of new missions was called for; and it is quite possible that he would have spent money and incurred obligations which his more cautious predecessor would have deemed improvident. As to whether his policy was justified or not, there was evidently room for two opinions. In a diocese in which rapid development is called for, a certain amount of debt is inevitable if the work is not to be hampered and stunted; but the decision of Propaganda to wait and see how the district prospered under him as Pro-Vicar was at least a reasonable one, for so far as could then be seen, the establishment of the Hierarchy was not so immediately pressing as to exclude a delay of a few months.

The third class of rumours alluded to by Father Melia was evidently little more than indiscriminate gossip. It was said that Dr. Wiseman was so devoted to the converts that the old Catholics felt neglected, and that among the clergy especially there were jealousies and unpleasantness. And while these matters were being discussed, a new question of a different nature was raised in Rome itself. It was suggested that in order to make the ecclesiastical property in England absolutely secure, it might be well if some new title could be devised by which the new Bishops in ordinary could at first be also Vicars Apostolic of the old Districts. The discussion of this question also occupied time.

In consequence of these delays, when the English Bishops held their annual meeting in Low Week, 1848, no further communication had been received from Rome, and they felt in the

dark as to how matters stood there. This was an important and anxious meeting in many ways. Dr. Ullathorne summarises the matters urgently awaiting attention in the following words :—[1]

"There was much indeed to fill the Bishops with solicitude. The Vicariate of the North had become vacant through the death of Bishop Riddell, who became a victim to his charity in Newcastle, whilst labouring amongst the poor sufferers from the malignant fever that spread over the North after the Irish famine. Numbers of the ablest priests of the Northern and Lancashire Districts had been swept off from the same cause. The Coadjutorship of the Central District was also vacant through the transfer of Bishop Wiseman to London. And it was considered of great importance that the ecclesiastical vacancies should be provided for as soon as it was possible. Then the policy of the Bishops was still counteracted at Rome by men who were listened to in some influential quarters, though they had no weight at home. And three cases of appeal or complaint against Vicars Apostolic were being pressed on the attention of the Holy See by as many priests."

One of the priests[2] here alluded to was the Rev. T. McDonnell ; on his departure from Birmingham in 1841 he had been received by Bishop Baines, and thus became a priest of the Western District. He was consequently a subject of Bishop Ullathorne and had already contrived to fall out with him. For the Bishop, instead of living like his two predecessors at Prior Park, had determined to establish himself at Bristol, as the chief centre of population, and for that purpose he took over the mission at Clifton, with its large unfinished

[1] *Hierarchy*, p. 33.

[2] The other two were the Rev. Daniel Hearne, late of St. Patrick's, Manchester, from whence he had been removed by his Bishop, and Rev. Francis Trappes, formerly chaplain at Lea House, Preston, who had been suspended and was appealing against the same Bishop. Both of them lost their appeals. That of the former had a sad sequel, for some weeks afterwards he was stabbed by a man with a stiletto in broad daylight in the public streets of Rome, for no reason, so far as could be ascertained, except his priesthood. He defended himself bravely, and succeeded in warding off the fatal blows aimed at him; but in so doing, he received two deep wounds on his right arm, of which in consequence he permanently lost the use. He returned to England before the end of the year, but was never able to resume his priestly functions.

church, which he determined to complete and to make into a quasi-Cathedral. Mr. McDonnell, who was then stationed there, accordingly withdrew; but failing to come to terms with Dr. Ullathorne about accepting other work, he took a prolonged holiday, and went to Rome. Nevertheless, during his visit to the Eternal City he did not put forward any definite appeal in his own case; but he did not cease to complain in the strongest terms against Dr. Wiseman, and it was reasonably feared that his accusations might produce some effect.

Under all these circumstances, and in view of the misunderstandings of the previous autumn, the Bishops had asked Dr. Grant to come over from Rome to help them by his advice, but he felt the difficulty of leaving the College there without a Rector for so considerable a period in a manner which Dr. Wiseman had never done, and he declared that he could not come unless he was freed from his position and responsibilities in Rome. At the same time Mgr. Palma urged the importance of his continued presence where he was. Dr. Grant, however, with his conscientious thoroughness in everything which he undertook, declared that he could not give the amount of time requisite for the work even in Rome without some assistance.

The Bishops therefore when they met, realising the importance of pressing forward the matter of the Hierarchy, resolved to send a deputy to Rome. According to Dr. Ullathorne, they first thought of Dr. Husenbeth of Costessey; but he was unwilling to go, and they naturally suggested Dr. Ullathorne himself, who was in every respect far better qualified, and whose position as one of the Vicars Apostolic would secure him a far better hearing. Moreover, his experience in connection with the establishment of the Australian Hierarchy would be of very great assistance to him. And in addition to this he had already been in Rome the previous year, engaged on business connected with the financial difficulties at Prior Park, so that he was personally known to the authorities of Propaganda, and to Pius IX. himself. Dr. Ullathorne accepted the commission, and carried it through with marked ability and success. It was indeed due to his tact and the straightforward and business-like manner in which he conducted the negotia-

tions that we owe the final achievement of the restoration of the Hierarchy.

Leaving London about the middle of May, he passed through Paris—already in the throes of Revolution—and arrived in Rome on the 25th of the month. In the following letter to Dr. Wiseman he reports the state of affairs as he found it:—[1]

"ROME, *June* 3, 1848.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I have been here a week, and have lost no time since arriving. I have not yet seen the Pope, but have been active with Propaganda. Both Cardinal Prefect and Secretary are pleased with the Bishops having deputed me to terminate affairs. Both express their disposition to expedite the nomination of Vicars Apostolic to the vacancies, and to arrange the affairs of the Hierarchy. When Barnabò in asking for an audience for me entered into these matters, the Pope told him to have the special Congregation assembled and this business brought forward *subito*. I have given in several memorials, urging the immediate filling up of the vicariates and pressing the recommendations of the Vicars Apostolic, as also urging the further step of the Hierarchy to follow as soon as practicable. . . .

"Two main obstacles seem to have been raised to the conclusion of these affairs, the one regarding the trust property, and the difficulty of continuing the title of Vicar Apostolic in any way, the other about the see of Westminster. I have pressed that your Lordship could not now be removed without an implied censure, with other arguments of a more positive character, and I think I can assure your Lordship that you will not be removed, although some arrangement seems to be contemplated to soften, 'adolcire,' the feelings of some senior bishops and others. I write of course in confidence, and your Lordship may rely upon it that in meeting these proposals, your interest will not suffer in my hands. It is evident that the Holy See considers the nomination of the Archbishop a very delicate affair. I think it will be well for your Lordship to wait with tranquillity the issue, and to rely on Dr. Grant and myself to do our best for your Lordship's and

[1] *Westminster Archives*,

the District's interests under all the circumstances of the case. . . . I will write as soon as I have anything definite to say.

"Your devoted servant in Christ,

"+ W. B. ULLATHORNE."

A fortnight later he wrote to Bishop Brown:—[1]

"I have been received very kindly both by his Holiness and by Propaganda, and there is every disposition to expedite the business. When I saw the Pope he expressed his esteem for the English Vicars Apostolic; whereupon I showed how much that fact had been obscured in England by discontented men. He gave a most emphatic shrug. He gave orders to Barnabò to expedite matters and assemble the special Congregation. It will meet in four days from this."

The negotiations which followed have been so fully described by Bishop Ullathorne himself that it will not be necessary to do more than briefly summarise them here. The special Congregation appointed by the Pope consisted of seven Cardinals,[2] under the Presidency of Cardinal Fransoni, with Mgr. Barnabò as Secretary. They met for the first time on June 26. Bishop Ullathorne had prepared a series of memorials for their consideration, covering the ground described at the opening of this Chapter, and adding the usual difficulty as to finding support for additional bishoprics and suitable persons for the office. And he also raised the question of the position of the second Order of clergy under the proposed new arrangements. On the day after the Congregation had sat, he was invited by Mgr. Barnabò to hear the result. This was briefly that the measure was to be proceeded with, and that Dr. Ullathorne was to be asked to draw out a scheme for dividing England into twelve dioceses; for they were of opinion that this would be done more effectively by one man rather than by the Bishops themselves, who would be likely to be swayed by particular local difficulties which must necessarily arise, and would be urged by the particular Bishop concerned, but which ought to give way before the general good; but the Cardinals had been particularly insistent on the division of the London District by the River Thames which they said had always been a dividing line in Catholic times. Furthermore,

[1] *Westminster Archives.*

[2] Cardinals Ostini, Castracane, Mai, Altieri, Vizzardelli, and Orioli.

Cardinal

the English Bishops were to be invited to make suggestions as to the necessary modifications to be introduced in the position of the inferior clergy.

Dr. Ullathorne lost no time in carrying out his instructions, and within three days—on June 30—he brought forward his scheme for dividing England into twelve dioceses, based on the views expressed by the Vicars Apostolic in the previous Low Week. In his scheme, in accordance with the express wish of Bishop Brown, he left the Lancashire District undivided. He also put in three other memorials similar to his former ones, which as well as the main scheme, were all translated into Italian by Dr. Grant. Copies were in the hands of the Cardinals by July 4, and the meeting for their consideration was fixed for the 17th. Before that date arrived, Dr. Ullathorne received a pathetic appeal dictated by Bishop Walsh—for he was too ill to write himself—begging to be allowed to end his days where he was, and at the same time asking for a Coadjutor to replace Dr. Wiseman. This letter Dr. Ullathorne took to Mgr. Barnabò, and he backed it by his own opinion in strong language. He even said that the appointment of Dr. Walsh in his present state of health would be nothing less than "a farce";[1] but he did not succeed in causing any change in what had been determined.

When the Congregation met, they took the unusual step of inviting Dr. Ullathorne to attend while they discussed the question of the titles of the new sees, so that he might advise them as to the state of the English law; but they did not come to a final decision about this point. About all the other details they substantially accepted Dr. Ullathorne's scheme. It then only remained to obtain the Pope's confirmation, to complete the matter.

Besides the question of the Hierarchy, or rather as an important preliminary part of it, the Congregation had to recommend candidates for the two vacant vicariates—that of the North, due to the death of Bishop Riddell, and that of the Central District, due to Dr. Walsh's projected removal to London.

To the latter appointment the Holy See attached great importance, not only because Oxford was situated in that Dis-

[1] See his letter in the *Westminster Archives*.

trict, but also because it was the centre of so much Catholic activity. The Congregation did not take long therefore in making up their minds that Bishop Ullathorne should be translated there. He describes what happened in a subsequent letter as follows:—[1]

"After the first meeting of the Cardinals, Barnabò stated to me that they had decided upon not recommending A.B. They felt very much the importance of that District, and he finally added that they wished to place me there, and hoped that for general considerations I would sacrifice my attachment to the West. I then wrote a straightforward letter to Barnabò assigning what appeared to me to be objections to the proposed step. I urged the general ground of my being a Regular, and that that District would expect a Secular, to which they had always been accustomed. I next explained historically and by facts what I considered would alter their judgment of my possessing those qualifications in particular which they looked for. Barnabò, though he combated its contents, yet undertook to read this letter to the Cardinals. Barnabò told me last night that on the recommendation of the Cardinals, the Pope had approved my translation, and imposed it also upon me, as well as upon Dr. Walsh, as a *sanctissimum præceptum* to accept."

Dr. Ullathorne's removal produced a new vacancy in the Western District. In accordance with his advice it was decided to appoint Rev. Joseph William Hendren, O.S.F., the Vicar General, who was a Regular. For the Northern District the Rev. William Hogarth, missionary at Darlington, was appointed.

From the above it will be seen that the Rev. T. McDonnell did not succeed in his attacks against Dr. Wiseman. The following account of his doings, from the pen of Dr. Ullathorne, is not without interest:—[1]

"McDonnell has produced no impression here. He has put nothing before Propaganda in his own case. But he wrote letters to the Pope against Dr. Wiseman and Dr. Walsh. He has not been able to get any introduction to the Pope. All here have shown themselves afraid of him. None have been more reserved in his regard than the Irish College. After

[1] *Ibid.*

more insolent letters to myself, I finally sent him the reasons why I conceived that he had forfeited all claims to further employment in the Western District. After two days of excitement, he sent an *amende*, and begged to withdraw all that he had written which had given me offence, and to have them held *pro non scripta*. I then re-instated him and returned him the offensive letters. This has put him in very good humour. He leaves Rome soon, and returns to Gloucester.

"Poor man!" (Dr. Ullathorne adds) "he no sooner got out this scrape than he unwittingly put himself into another. Abusing a little confidence I had shown him, for the purpose of proving that the Bishops were not so averse to the privileges of the clergy as he imagined, he wrote a letter to Propaganda, praying in the name of the English clergy that titular Bishops be not appointed until the clergy have fixity of tenure, lest their last condition be worse than the first. Barnabò gave me his letter, and I have considered it my duty to show him up in all his character and through all his conduct in a letter to Propaganda. He had charged Dr. Wiseman to the Pope with unsound doctrine, etc. . . . He has written various letters whilst in England to Rome, and so have many others, about the fixity of tenure of the clergy. One petition from the North was signed by 24 priests."

The position of the second Order of the clergy in the new Hierarchy had, as we have seen, been already prominently before the Congregation. Their decision is announced in the final paragraph of the following letter from Dr. Ullathorne, which marks the conclusion of his mission to Rome:—[1]

"BISHOP ULLATHORNE TO BISHOP WISEMAN.

"ROME, *July* 21, 1848.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Last night Monsgnr. Barnabò told me that the Pope had confirmed all the arrangements as decided by the Cardinals on Monday last, and I feel at liberty to [write] to the Bishops, which I beg to do through you, their substance.

"From the first it appears to have been fully decided by Propaganda that Bishop Walsh, in consideration of his position and merits, should be the first Archbishop. So decided was this intention that when a letter containing an alarming ac-

[1] *Ibid.*

count of his Lordship's health was sent in to the Cardinals, during their first sitting, they decided on taking no notice of its contents. The Pope has imposed upon Dr. Walsh as a 'præceptum sanctissimum' to accept the vicariate of London, preliminary to the change of title. Your Lordship is of course appointed Coadjutor with right of succession. . . . .

"The dioceses are to be twelve in England and Wales, the four new ones to be put under administration[1] for the present. The division of territory differs not much from the one recommended at our conference on the subject, with the exception of London. This had already been determined to be divided. A document was shown me, containing reasons, at my first interview, and we saw that it was useless to oppose the division by the Thames.

". . . I was present, and joined the discussion in the last Congregation of Cardinals on points regarding the Hierarchy.[1] After the first meeting the Cardinals had requested a plan comprising as many old titles as might be expedient. Such a plan was given in, suggesting old titles for above half, but in each case pointing out how the letter of the law was avoided, but much to my relief it was proposed to refer to the individual Bishops these points as to their titles; they got alarmed about the Government.

"The title of Vicar Apostolic is to be suppressed, and a certain form of wording in the Bull tending to identify as much as possible the titular Bishop with the previous Vicar Apostolic, which we put in, is to be adopted.

"I have pressed to have the briefs as soon as possible; the papers for them went this morning to the office of the Secretary of Briefs. I have urged that as the Bishops would be met at Manchester on the 9th prox. I could be there and explain what had been done; and as Propaganda is anxious that the new Vicars Apostolic should be consecrated as speedily as possible, it is suggested that it might be done then.

"I hope to leave here on Sunday night next.[2]

"Propaganda wishes that one of the first acts of the Bishops after the Hierarchy is established be to consider and arrange the questions respecting the clergy, and it is with this un-

[1] I.e. to be administered by the Bishops of the adjacent dioceses.
[2] July 23.

derstanding that they consent to remit that question to the Bishops. They wish the Vicars Apostolic to be in their places as soon as possible, that the Bull may be issued as soon as possible.

"Would your Lordship kindly have copies of this sent to the other Bishops?

"Your Lordship's sincerely devoted Brother in Christ,

"+ W. B. ULLATHORNE."

Dr. Ullathorne travelled with all the speed he could, and arrived at Manchester in time for the Bishops' meeting. The occasion of their coming together was the opening of St. John's Church, now the Salford Cathedral, which was an event similar in importance to that of St. Chad's, Birmingham, or of St. George's, London. The opening took place on Wednesday, August 9, 1848. High Mass was sung by Dr. G. Brown, the sermon being preached by Dr. Wiseman. All the Bishops of England were present, with the exception of Dr. Walsh who was too ill to come, and over two hundred of the clergy, chiefly from the North. After the opening the Bishops held a meeting, at which Dr. Ullathorne reported what he had accomplished in Rome with a view to the early proclamation of the Hierarchy, and arrangements were made to carry out the necessary preliminaries with as little delay as possible. With his characteristic meekness and obedience, notwithstanding his weak state of health, Dr. Walsh moved to London and issued a pastoral within a week, on August 16, in which he said that his only work would be to support Dr. Wiseman, whose zeal and energy were so well known. On the feast of the Nativity of our Lady, September 8, he was formally and solemnly received in St. George's Cathedral. In the meantime, on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, Dr. Hogarth had received episcopal consecration at Ushaw at the hands of Dr. Briggs. Six days later Dr. Ullathorne made his solemn entry into St. Chad's Cathedral, where he was destined to rule for close on forty years; and on September 10 he consecrated his successor in the Western District, Dr. Hendren, at Clifton.

It now seemed that everything was ready for the immediate proclamation of the Hierarchy. The sole point as

yet undecided was the titles of the sees, for which in every case a blank had been left. It only remained to receive the views of the Bishops about this, to fill in the titles and despatch the briefs, and their arrival was almost daily expected.

When everything seemed settled, however, a further delay arose over some vexatious points of detail, which caused considerable trouble before matters could be finally settled.

In the first place the unwillingness of a certain section in Rome to promote Dr. Wiseman to the Coadjutorship at the eleventh hour caused some hesitation. Before leaving Rome Dr. Ullathorne had written indicating the existence of this feeling :—[1]

"I saw there existed certain impressions unfavourable to your Lordship in the mind of Barnabò. . . . The leading impression appeared to be that your Lordship wished the Archiepiscopacy, and sought for it. This explains a sentence, otherwise mysterious, in one of my letters. I was forbidden to write to the Bishops the arrangements in contemplation. I was anxious that no letters of your Lordship to persons in Rome might be interpreted into an anxiety to obtain the appointment, as I found that acts in which I was satisfied that your Lordship had had nothing to do had been so interpreted, e.g. Lord Shrewsbury's petition. . . . An idea [was] expressed even to myself that you might have influenced Dr. Walsh's refusal."

And again :—

"The conviction gradually grew on me that some fixed influence was acting unfavourably towards your Lordship. I turned my attention towards the Irish party. The one thing which had awakened my attention was that Drs. McHale, Higgins, and Cullen called upon me as soon as I arrived, and I was asked one question about Dr. Nicholson,[2] and another as to whether your Lordship had been 'yet appointed' Archbishop; and Dr. McHale called alone a very few days after. . . . I was then invited to preside at a function at the Irish College to dinner, during all of which I of course kept perfectly

[1] *Westminster Archives.*

[2] An Irish Carmelite, titular Archbishop of Hierapolis and Coadjutor to the Archbishop of Corfu.

close. . . . [Dr. Nicholson] ascertained that the Irish party had been working against your Lordship, and we concluded at once that your Lordship should be made acquainted with the fact."

A few weeks later—on September 15—Dr. Grant wrote to Dr. Wiseman:—[1]

"There is a very displeasing affair. Archbishop Nicholson has told Cardinal Fransoni that you have complained that Barnabò was *contrario* to you. The Cardinal has told Mgre. Barnabò and the latter has just mentioned it to me, saying that it is not the case, that he did not know you before your last visit to Rome, that he worked incessantly for everything regarding England. I am afraid that he is not pleased, and of course it has not added to his view of the complaint that it should have reached him through his superior. If you have any explanation, send it as soon and as smoothly as possible to him. He says that if you felt his not having answered private letters written to him, his excuse would be that he had answered public and official letters. Certainly he does not leave himself much time for private letters, although he works all day."

While this correspondence was proceeding, a further difficulty was also causing delay. This was the projected division of the London District. Dr. Ullathorne tells us that from the beginning Bishop Wiseman had been averse to having another see so near to Westminster. As soon as he had learnt that this was in contemplation, he had written giving his objections, and when he was definitely appointed Coadjutor in the London District, he wrote a second time. Among other arguments which he used was the somewhat ingenious one that there was a debt on St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, and if Southwark and Westminster were divided, the Catholics of the district north of the Thames—which in those days included by far the greater part of the wealth of London—would be unwilling to subscribe for a church which would be no longer within their own diocese. Dr. Grant, however, knew that Rome had been insistent on this division, and he urged Dr. Wiseman not to press the matter further.

"I beg you will turn over the affair of the debt on St.

[1] *Westminster Archives.*

George's," he wrote ;[1] "the difficulty to you is undoubtedly a great one, but you know that for a temporal and local question the Hierarchy has been delayed so long, and this difficulty would tend to sicken them of our affairs."

While these small difficulties kept producing delay, however, soon afterwards events of vastly greater importance took place which caused the indefinite postponement of the whole Hierarchy scheme. To these events we must devote a separate chapter.

[1] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

DISAPPOINTMENT AND DELAY. THE REVOLUTIONS.

THE year 1848 was one of revolutions in several countries of Europe. In the first month of the year the Sicilians rose at Palermo. In the following month Paris was once more plunged into the horrors of civil strife, and Louis Philippe having escaped to England, the second French Republic was proclaimed on February 26. Within the next few weeks the movement was felt in the various states of the Italian Peninsula. In Naples, King Ferdinand gave his subjects a popular constitution, and his example was followed by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and by Charles Albert, King of Sardinia and Piedmont. The danger was thus avoided for the time. Both Venice and Milan rose against the Austrians and were only subdued after several months of fighting. The movement spread to the Papal States, where also a popular constitution of a certain kind was set up; and almost at the same time the revolutionary spirit reached Austria, and from thence passed to Hungary, in each of which the existing Government was overturned.

The only part of these rapid developments which concerns our present purpose is the progress of events in the Papal States, which led to the Pope leaving Rome and to the indefinite postponement of the much-hoped-for measure to restore the English Hierarchy, just as this seemed on the verge of completion. A short account of the political situation in the Eternal City and of the stirring events which followed must accordingly be given.

Already in the previous year the Pope had instituted an Advisory Council of State, which opened its sittings on November 15, while Lord Minto was still in Rome. On December 30, 1847, he issued a *Motu Proprio* which fore-

shadowed a popular constitution, a forecast which took definite shape on March 14 of the following year. So far, he was following the example of his neighbours; but there was necessarily an essential difference between them, for the Pope's position could never be that of a monarch ruling by the will of the people, so that any Parliament or other constitutional assembly could not have more than an advisory power. This Pope Pius had been careful to point out at the beginning. "I am ready," he said,[1] "with the assistance of God to do all for the future, without however retrenching in any degree the sovereignty of the Pontificate; and inasmuch as I received it full and entire from my predecessors, so shall I transmit this sacred deposit to my successors. . . . It was particularly to ascertain the wants [of the people] and to provide better for the exigencies of the public service that I have assembled you in a permanent council. It was to hear your opinion when necessary, to aid me in my sovereign resolutions in which I shall consult my conscience, and confer on them with my Ministers and the Sacred College. Anybody who could take any other view of the functions you are called to fulfil would mistake materially, as well as he that would see in the Council of State I have created the realisation of their own Utopias, and the germ of an institution incompatible with the Pontifical sovereignty."

Then again, in view of the Pope's spiritual position, it was very necessary in the new constitution to reserve all religious questions, or any with an even indirectly religious bearing in his own hands. Subject to these, however, he went as far as he could towards meeting the legitimate desires and aspirations of his subjects. The Ministry which was ushered in immediately before the promulgation of the constitution contained, for the first time, a large proportion of laymen.[2] The Prime Minister was the famous Cardinal Antonelli, who was destined afterwards to play such a leading part in the political counsels of Pius. Though a Cardinal, however, he was not a priest, and never became one. His character, which has often been attacked, and as often defended, hardly comes into prominence during the years we are now considering, and it is

[1] *Life of Pius IX.*, by J. F. Maguire, p. 46.

[2] There had already been one or two laymen in the previous Ministry.

perhaps sufficient to say that he was at least a loyal servant of his master, and ever strove to further his interests and those of the Church by such measures as—rightly or wrongly—commended themselves to his judgment. The constitution included an upper Chamber, nominated by the Pope, and a Chamber of Deputies, elected on a somewhat high franchise. The elections were held on May 18 and the Chamber held its first sitting on June 5. Before these dates arrived, however, important further developments had taken place.

The proclamation of the Constitution of the Papal States coincided within twenty-four hours with the sudden and tragic fall of Metternich in Austria. An inevitable result was a strong anti-Austrian wave among all classes in Rome; and it is significant of the threatening state of public feeling that Pius IX. thought it prudent to give way before it. In the public mind the Jesuits had always been identified with the Austrian policy; the people demanded that they should be expelled from Rome, and with much sorrow and a heavy heart, Pope Pius advised them rather to leave the city than to be the occasion of riot and bloodshed. On March 30 it was officially announced that they would disperse. Some retired to their families, others repaired to various foreign countries. A few came as far as England, where Lord Clifford, mindful of his own education at Stonyhurst, offered an asylum to twenty of them, including such well-known men as Passaglia and Perrone.

In the meantime important events had been taking place in Northern Italy. The revolution in Vienna was a signal for action. Both Venice and Milan rose against the Austrians with success. In the case of the latter, after five days' keen struggle, they defeated the veteran General Radetzky, and his army was now in retreat. Not without some hesitation and loss of valuable time, Charles Albert sent his soldiers to assist against the Austrians, though he declared that he was not formally at war with them. The Pope's Ministers urged him also to put an army in the field. To this Pius gave a reluctant consent, on the distinct understanding that they were only to act on the defensive. A levy of volunteers was accordingly called for. Archdeacon Manning (as he then was) happened to be in Rome at the time, and he has left us a graphic

account of the scene which accompanied it. In his diary, under date March 23, 1848, he writes as follows:—[1]

"[We] went at two to the Piazza del Popolo; a carriage with a flag came up, stood between the two churches, and a civic guard read a paper saying 'The minister at war, with advice of Consulta and consent of the Pope, considering the urgent circumstances of Italy, and the general state of the City, orders that a conscription of volunteers be opened at 4 p.m. in the Campo'. Soon a great crowd came, and linked in files, went down the Corso, Padre Gavazzi at the head next the standard. Lord Lindsay and I followed. We all went down the Corso into the Forum, down the old stairs, under the Arch of Titus, into the Coliseum. They gathered round the Rostrum, and Padre Gavazzi preached with a concentration of body and mind and all powers seldom exceeded. He said, 'the other day I preached words of peace, to-day of war'. . . . He called on them to swear by the cross to devote themselves and to submit their will to discipline from the moment of conscription to the day on which they returned in victory."

After describing other speakers, including Ciceroacchio and Sterbini, Manning proceeds:—

"Then the conscription began. The Coliseum was nearly full, at least two-thirds. I went up in a high part and looked down. It was a strange and wild sight, and one which will be written in history. The Government called out two battalions of the Civic Guards, two of the mobili, and two of volunteers. It is said that the Pope will bless the standards."

And he ends by moralising, "yet this is not a religious war, but purely national, against the Catholic Emperor".

The troops were placed under General Durando, a Sardinian, and he promptly disobeyed the Pope's orders by taking his army across the Po to invade Venetia. The Pope replied with his allocution of April 29, censuring the action of his army, at which the Ministry resigned. Their successors in office were commonly spoken of as the Mamiani Ministry; for although presided over nominally by Cardinal Ciacchi, the most influential member, who practically ruled their policy, was Count Mamiani, Minister of the Interior. Of him Manning wrote:—

[1] *Life of Manning*, i., p. 374.

"Brocchi tells me that Mamiani wrote a book against the Temporal Power of the Pope; that he was not included in the Amnesty, but that his family prayed for his return to Rome. He came by sufferance; had an interview with Pius IX.; became intimate, and is now Prime Minister."

On the meeting of the new Chamber of Deputies at its inaugural sitting on June 5, Mamiani openly declared his opinions against the Temporal Power, and his conviction that the Pope's spiritual authority would become stronger by its virtual abolition.

"Our Prince, as father of all the faithful," he said,[1] "shall remain within the lofty sphere of his divine authority; he shall live in the serene atmosphere of the faith, he shall dispense to the world the Word of God, benediction, and pardon. In his capacity of Sovereign and constitutional ruler, he leaves you wisdom largely to provide for the temporal interests of the people. The Constitution adding its sanction to that of the Catholic Faith declares the acts of the Prince blessed, involving no responsibility, and that, in accordance with his nature, his deeds must always be good, and can never be evil."

After this he proceeded to declare himself in favour of prosecuting the war—a sentiment which opened out fresh visions of a struggle between the Pontiff and his Ministers. No wonder that Dr. Pantaleoni, one of the leaders among the Liberals, prophesied to Manning that the new Ministry would not last a month. In the event it lasted three months, during which time outward tranquillity was preserved; but affairs never for a moment lost their threatening aspect, or assumed any appearance of becoming settled.

We can now realise the state of political affairs when Dr. Ullathorne arrived in Rome on May 27. The elections had recently been held and the Chamber was to meet in eight days' time, when Mamiani delivered his speech. With the political horizon so threatening it is not a little remarkable that the ecclesiastical officials were able to give their attention to such a mass of details as were involved in the English Hierarchy question. This struck Dr. Ullathorne himself forcibly. "Rome was at that time in a very troubled state," he wrote;[2]

[1] See the *Roman Theocracy and the Republic*, by R. M. Johnston, p. 158.
[2] *Hierarchy*, p. 45.

"the revolution was forcing its way over the sounder but more timid portion of the population. Assassinations were perpetrated with the intent of intimidating the authorities and creating confusion. . . . Public demonstrations were frequent. The citizens turned themselves into National Guards, and paraded themselves in all directions. The very children were enrolled in a corps, clad in uniform, and exercised in military fashion. The revolutionary clubs kept the people in a constant state of excitement and commotion. In circumstances like these it was impossible not to be deeply impressed with the calm and tranquillity of the Holy See, which amidst all this trouble and turmoil found time to attend to the affairs of the Universal Church, and to devote itself even to such questions of an extraordinary character as that of our Hierarchy, as though the Papal city were in its usual state of repose."

Throughout Dr. Ullathorne's stay in Rome, which lasted over nine weeks, although on the whole law and order prevailed, it was evident to him as to others that disturbance might arise at any moment. In point of fact it did arise on the very night on which he left. The Ministry had already passed a resolution in favour of proceeding with the war, in opposition to the Pope's known wishes, and had even voted supplies for that object. A false report of a successful battle against the Austrians roused the people to enthusiasm, and they broke into the churches and rang the bells in triumph. But the truth soon became known, that the Austrians had in fact been victorious. Charles Albert's army was in full retreat, and he surrendered Milan on the 5th. At this juncture Mamiani resigned, and though the Ministry was reconstructed without him, this proved only a temporary measure; and in little more than a month all the Ministers tendered their resignation.

The next Ministry was formed theoretically under the Presidency of Cardinal Soglia, but as before the President was only the nominal head. The real leader was Count Pellegrino Rossi, a man of no little courage and determination, who had been in Rome on a diplomatic mission from Louis Philippe, and had consequently been out of employment since the revolution in France. Though himself an Italian—he was a native of Carrara, in the Papal States—and strongly nationalist in senti-

ment, he was thoroughly loyal to the Papacy, and he made no attempt to conciliate the democratic party, being prepared to face all the consequences provided he did his duty. He brought a number of soldiers into the city and aimed at subduing the spirit of his enemies by a display of force.

The Chamber had been prorogued in August, and its reopening was fixed for November 15. That day was destined to be fraught with an event of far-reaching consequences. It is said that Rossi himself received warning of what was about to happen, but with dauntless courage characteristic of the man, he simply disregarded it. He was persuaded that no one would have the daring to attempt acts of violence, and his well-known words to Count Spaur, the Bavarian Minister, "You may tell the diplomatic corps that the Pope's authority can be broken down only by passing over my dead body," illustrate his confident frame of mind—a confidence sadly at variance with actual facts, as shown by the sequel, when his actual words came true.

The opening of the session was fixed to take place at the Cancelleria at one o'clock. A crowd had gathered, as is usual on such occasions, and when the doors were opened, many of them forced their way into the hall from whence the stairway led to the Chamber. Punctually to time Count Rossi drove up, accompanied by his private secretary, and as he left his carriage, he was received with a not unexpected hostile demonstration from the assembled crowd. Caring little for this, with perfect coolness he proceeded to ascend the stairs, when suddenly one of the crowd struck him on the left side with an umbrella, and as he turned to see who it was, another, on the other side, drew a stiletto, and forced it with the precision of one accustomed to such deeds, downward through the back of his neck, which was thus turned to him; and within a few moments Rossi's lifeless body lay in a pool of blood on the ground.

A scene of consternation followed; but there was no sympathy shown with the fallen statesman, nor any reprobation of the crime. It was with the utmost difficulty that the body was removed into an adjoining room by his faithful secretary. Dr. Pantaleoni came out of the Chamber, urged by more humane motives than his colleagues, but he arrived only

to find that it was too late, and that life was already extinct.[1] Within the Chamber all was confusion. There was a call to business, and minutes were actually read; but the Chamber soon emptied itself, without any formal adjournment. In the evening the mob assembled in front of Rossi's private house, and sang a song of exultation within hearing of his sorrowing widow.

During the afternoon of the murder the streets of Rome were comparatively quiet. On the following morning, profiting by the crisis, a crowd assembled in the Piazza del Popolo and proceeded in a peaceful manner to the Quirinal, where a deputation of them waited on the Pope and demanded certain reforms. These included the dismissal of the Ministry, the creation of a supreme "Constituent Assembly," and a declaration of war. They demanded an answer within an hour. The Pope took a firm attitude at first, and refusing to yield to violence, ordered the gates of the Palace to be shut and barred against the entrance of the mob. This was the signal for the commencement of rioting. At first the mob tried to set fire to the gates; but being driven off by the shots of the Swiss Guards from the windows, they replied with a fusillade. They took possession of the neighbouring belfry of S. Carlino, overlooking the interior of the Quirinal court. A stray shot entered the apartment of Mgr. Palma, the Under-Secretary of Propaganda for English-speaking countries, in the street adjoining the Quirinal,[2] killing him on the spot. Another shot penetrated to the antechamber of the Pope, where fortunately it did no great damage. For three hours the firing continued, killing and wounding many. At length, in order to avoid further bloodshed, the Pope gave way so far as to refer the matter of the reforms to the Chamber, promising to accept their decision;

[1] When the present writer was first in Rome more than a quarter of a century later, he happened to be unwell, and summoned the doctor in attendance on the hotel who turned out to be Dr. Pantaleoni, then an old man. After an exile during the latter part of the reign of Pius IX., he had returned to Rome on the entrance of the Italians in 1870. In course of conversation, he had many vivid details to add as to the events of those times, and of the day when Rossi was assassinated. Though professing to be a Catholic, he told the writer quite confidently that Pius IX. was the last Pope, and that there would never be another. He lived, however, to see the election of Leo XIII.

[2] It is usually stated that Mgr. Palma was killed in the Quirinal itself; but the details given in *The Times*, from which the above is taken, are so precise that the presumption is that they are accurate.

and he protested that in agreeing to this he was not a free agent, but that it was extorted from him by violence. The first measure of the executive Government after this was to remove the Swiss Guards, who had always been faithful to the Pope, and replace them by the hostile Civic Guards. From that moment the Pope became truly a prisoner in his own palace.

There now remained to Pope Pius only one way of recovering his authority, which was to move himself to a distance where he could act freely and without intimidation. He called a conference of foreign Ambassadors, and learnt that either Spain or France would send a warship to convey him to a place of safety; while Archbishop Nicholson expressed his confidence that the Pope could find a safe refuge under the protection of the British flag, either in his own diocese of Corfu or in Malta. An initial difficulty, however, presented itself, for there seemed no possibility of his escaping from the Quirinal, guarded as it was by the soldiers, and an angry crowd continually assembling outside. The dramatic way in which this difficulty was overcome and his escape effected has often been told. With extraordinary courage and nerve, the Pope decided that he would not attempt to leave in the middle of the night, when the attention of the guards might be aroused, but he would drive forth in the daytime, through the midst of his enemies, under circumstances which might evade suspicion. The details were carefully planned with the necessary secrecy. On the afternoon of November 22, towards dusk, we can see the carriage of the duc d'Harcourt, the French Ambassador, enter the *cortile*, and stop in front of the chief door leading to the Pope's private apartments. He is received by torch-bearers and the full state customary. The audience is a long one—presumably a discussion of the attitude to be taken up by France in the present crisis. During its progress, at the far corner of the court, another carriage is drawn up which attracts no particular attention. It belongs to Cavalieri Filippani. Presently he comes out of the palace and enters it, in company with his chaplain, of middle-aged appearance, with spectacles, dressed in the ordinary priest's attire. The carriage drives through the main entrance of the *cortile*, as so many do throughout the day, passing among the guards and the crowd outside, unnoticed by them, and disappears down the street.

The anxious crowd continue to watch the duc d'Harcourt's carriage. His audience seems interminable. Speculation is rife as to what is happening, for voices loud in argument are heard in the Pope's antechamber. Things have not gone well, it is said. At length, after the lapse of over two hours, the French Minister emerges and is conducted to his carriage by torch-bearers, and in full state as before. He looks pale and anxious, but he takes his seat in his carriage, which drives off. Then after so long an audience the Pope must necessarily rest awhile. Time passes away, and he does not re-appear ; but it is not until well on into the night that the truth becomes suspected, and the guards begin to whisper abroad that the Pope is no longer their prisoner, and that he may for aught they know be already some twenty or thirty miles away from his capital.

The history of the Pope's movements on that historic night is now well known : how Filippani conducted him—his "chaplain"—by a circuitous route to his former titular church of Sts. Peter and Marcellinus, where Count Spaur awaited him with another conveyance : how they left Rome through the Porta S. Giovanni, and driving through the night, did not halt till they were on Neapolitan territory, and eventually reached the seaport town of Gaeta, to await there the arrival of a French or Spanish ship, or for other political developments. On hearing of his arrival, King Ferdinand at once proceeded thither in person to offer his homage, and beg the Pope to accept his hospitality for so long as he should see fit.

When Rome woke up on the morning of November 23, to find itself without a Pope, a mixed feeling of anger and dismay prevailed. None but the most extreme republicans had ever imagined the Eternal City shorn of its greatest glory : Mamiani and his party, with all their zeal against the Temporal Power, had never contemplated Rome without the Pope. Gradually, however, the Republican party gained the ascendant. The Chamber of Deputies met, and when the Pope sent from Gaeta a letter appointing seven men to carry on the government temporarily, they treated it as waste paper. They announced the formation of a Constituent Assembly, for which the elections were to be held on January 21, 1849. The Pope replied by prohibiting Catholics from voting. Hence the

polls were light, and it is said that some districts were totally unrepresented. The Constituent Assembly, however, met on February 5, and forthwith proclaimed the Roman Republic.

Long before this it had become clear enough that the question of the English Hierarchy must be indefinitely postponed, for the Cardinals were dispersed and no ecclesiastical business was being transacted. This was the more to be regretted, as the arrangements for the Hierarchy had, as we have seen, been based on the intention of making Dr. Walsh the first Archbishop, and it was manifest that his life could not be indefinitely prolonged. In point of fact, he never recovered from the trial of changing his abode at his advanced age, and during the six months that he lived in London, he was a chronic invalid. Early in the year 1849 signs appeared of a diseased stomach, and he became subject to continuous vomiting. On February 12 Dr. Wiseman wrote:—[1]

"The Bishop is not positively worse, but the vomiting continues, and if not stopped, must prove fatal. In the meantime his weakness increases, and I doubt his power to rally."

The end came on Sunday, February 18, at twenty minutes to nine in the evening, while the prayers for a departing soul were being recited round him. During the previous forty-eight hours the vomiting had stopped, so that he was able to receive Holy Viaticum as well as the other last rites. At his *Requiem* at Moorfields the sermon was preached by Dr. Weedall, who repeated the same sermon at St. Chad's, Birmingham, at the funeral. As they stood around the vault on the epistle side of the church, the clergy must have felt that they were taking leave of one who had been a true father to them, and had spent himself without reserve in the work for his diocese.

He was not indeed a great leader, nor a very successful administrator—for we have it on the authority of Dr. Ullathorne, who succeeded him in the Central District, that the finances were in a sad way when he left it. But he was in many ways a remarkable man. Though personally retiring and self-effacing, he nevertheless identified himself with all the forward movements of those stirring times, and carried out several great projects, such as the building of Oscott

[1] *Oscott Archives.*

College and St. Chad's Cathedral, not to mention also the churches at Derby and Nottingham, with which he was chiefly concerned. The Gothic monument which surmounts his grave, no less than the Pugin chasuble in which his portrait is always painted, are characteristic testimonies to one who took so large a share in the Gothic revival.

Returning now to the events in Rome, about this time serious alarm began to be felt for the safety of the English College. The Rector and students had for some time past ceased to go abroad in the clerical dress; but they were now anxious lest the College itself might not be seized. In order to leave no stone unturned, Dr. Wiseman in London waited on Lord Palmerston, to beg for the protection of the British Government, and having consulted the law officers of the Crown, Lord Palmerston promised the same assistance as that provided by other countries for the guarding of their property.

The worst apprehensions soon appeared likely to be realised, for the proclamation of the Roman Republic soon drew to the Eternal City the prominent Republicans from other parts. Mazzini arrived on March 6, and a few weeks later Garibaldi also came at the head of his corps; and under the new influences the Republic became more definitely anti-clerical every day. Church property was confiscated, and in some instances priests were put to death. When Holy Week came, the Romans finding themselves defrauded of the usual ceremonies which formed one of the great attractions of their city, called upon the Canons of St. Peter's to carry them out as usual, and to appoint one of their number to pontificate. Being met with a refusal, they secured the services of a suspended priest who sang Mass on Easter Sunday at the Papal altar, with all the accustomed ceremonial, and even gave his blessing afterwards, "Urbi et Orbi," from the *loggia* as though he had been the reigning Pontiff.

Other events, however, soon occurred to distract attention from such matters. During the month of March hostilities broke out once more between the Austrians and Sardinians, when the total defeat of the latter at Novara on the 23rd practically assured the supremacy of Austria in the North of Italy for some years to come. At this stage Charles Albert resigned his crown in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel II.

Bishop Walsh

In order to meet the new crisis, the Roman Constituent Assembly appointed a triumvirate—Mazzini, Armellini, and Saffi—who became virtually dictators, Mazzini being by far the strongest man of the three. They had a difficult situation to cope with, for it became known that the French were equipping an expedition under General Oudinot, to take Rome by force and restore it to the Pope. Embarking at Marseilles with 8,000 men on April 21, they reached Civita Vecchia on the 24th. A siege now seemed imminent, and with commendable promptness, on the very next day Dr. Grant sent his students to the country house at Monte Porzio, while he himself remained to guard the College.

At the first onslaught, on April 30, General Oudinot was defeated, and had to retire to await reinforcements. Hostilities were then resumed, and on June 3 the siege of Rome commenced. During the bombardment the English College was struck, but happily little injury was done. After a month's siege the city capitulated on July 3. Mazzini escaped to France, and in general, Oudinot made little difficulty in allowing the republican leaders to leave, which was probably sound policy, for once they were gone the people returned to a calmer frame of mind. The only person who had a difficulty in escaping was Garibaldi, who together with his band of followers left Rome before the French entered. The latter pursued them to the mountains, and the band, numbering some 4,000 men, was dispersed. Ciceroacchio and his two sons, who were among them, were apprehended and shot in Sinigaglia—the native town of Pius IX. Garibaldi himself eventually succeeded in making good his escape.

General Oudinot now declared the Pope's authority restored, and formally sent him the keys of the city. It remained to arrange the conditions under which he would consent to return. This took nine months to accomplish. Eventually Pius re-entered Rome on April 12, 1850, being received with all the outward acclamations of joy to which the Italian nature so readily lends itself. But he was no longer the democratic Pontiff as of yore. Antonelli was his Secretary of State, and during the remaining twenty years of Papal rule in Rome, government was carried on according to the more traditional methods of the past.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CONVERTS AND OLD CATHOLICS.

DURING the period when the Hierarchy negotiations were in abeyance, English Catholics were in a state of patient expectancy, and it is a favourable time to discuss their condition and prospects. They were passing through a period of transition. The influence of the Oxford converts was just beginning to make itself felt, and a certain friction between them and the hereditary Catholics was becoming apparent. There is no reason to be surprised at this, but rather there is reason for wonder that they were able to live together at all, considering the complete difference of their antecedents, and of the standpoint from which they viewed everything around them.

Moreover, the Oxford men found many things different from what they had expected, and they naturally scrutinised everything very closely. This scrutiny was often mistaken for, but sometimes in truth was, criticism. The hereditary Catholics had received them in the first instance with a quiet and simple but solidly cordial welcome. When, however, they appeared in the nature of critics, calling for an alteration in this or that, often with only an imperfect knowledge of what they were criticising, the welcome gave place to annoyance. This was the more so as the converts thought little of the old Catholics as a class, and did not hesitate to speak of their new co-religionists as "uneducated". Thus W. G. Ward is reported to have said to Wiseman, "When a Protestant meets a Catholic in controversy, it is like a civilised man meeting a barbarian".[1] More recently Miss Allies, writing of her father, the well-known Thomas William Allies, no doubt reflecting his sentiments, says that "A man of letters and mind was lost in a body which scarcely knew how to read or write".[2]

[1] *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 437.
[2] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, i., p. 324.

Many Catholics have doubted whether there was ever much solid ground for such accusations against the body as a whole: there was certainly far less than the converts supposed. The reticent and retiring habits of the hereditary Catholics was responsible for much. The rooted feeling that they must refrain from anything which savoured of display, added to their extreme sensitiveness against speaking ill of their neighbour, caused their conversation to assume a certain dullness, which was often mistaken for ignorance—an impression which gained considerable plausibility from their habit of dropping the letter h. Moreover, the ordinary problems of life were to them no problems at all, so confident were they that the Catholic doctrine if properly expounded furnished a complete and satisfactory answer to them all.[1] Hence they had no temptation to discuss them. However desirable this calm of mind might be for enabling them to give themselves undisturbed to the work of life, it undoubtedly tended to prevent their conversation being so stimulating as that of those whose convictions on such subjects were less settled.

Curiously, the old Catholics on their side accused the converts of the very same thing—want of education[2]—which they urged the converts attempted to cover by an affected manner. We are indeed familiar with the type of University man who can talk plausibly about all the subjects of the day while really possessing very little solid knowledge or exact thought. Lingard declared that most of the converts belonged to this class. "Their boasted proficiency in Greek," he wrote, "is confined to one single branch of Greek learning. . . . As Latin scholars, many of them are beneath contempt;" and he accused them of frequent solecisms in what they wrote.

There is no need to pursue the question of which of these

[1] I.e. an obvious and convincing answer. Of course all Catholics believe that the problems of life find their ultimate solution in the truths of faith.

[2] It is not meant by this that Catholics failed to appreciate the qualities of the leaders of the Oxford Movement, such men as Newman, Faber, Ward, or others who might be mentioned; on the contrary, they had perhaps even an exaggerated idea of their attainments. Neither, presumably, would the converts have considered men such as Lingard or Joseph Berington or Charles Butler or Milner—to name only a few—as devoid of education, or have doubted that Bishop Walmesley was a first-rate mathematician, and Sir Henry Englefield was, as Fox described him, "the best informed man of his day". The mutual suspicion of want of education did not apply to such men as these, but to the rank and file on both sides, of whom there were many.

estimates was nearer the truth: as one who had had much experience of both classes once said, with two such dissimilar bodies there is no common unit by which to compare them. But the fact of these ideas existing naturally led to the difficulties to which we have alluded. Hence it is not surprising to find the converts establishing a periodical of their own. They gave it the title of the *Rambler*, and the first number appeared in January, 1848. The editor was Mr. John Moore Capes, who since his conversion had been engaged in teaching at Prior Park. One of his colleagues there was James Spencer Northcote, who had a considerable share in the management of the early numbers. These appeared at first once a week, but in the latter part of the year it was changed into a monthly.

In one of the early numbers of the *Rambler*, the editor wrote a long article on the education given at Catholic Colleges, with a view to bringing before the notice of the authorities the shortcomings, as he conceived them, which he fully admitted to be due to the poverty and other circumstances of the Catholic body. The article attracted a large amount of attention. It showed considerable thought, and the writer put his finger on some undeniably weak points in the system as it then existed. The following short quotations will indicate the general line he took. Speaking first of the difficulties to be faced he says:—[1]

"[A proper education] is rendered almost an impossibility by three combining evils—the want of a race of competent professors and teachers; the want of funds to support such instructors, if they existed; and the wretched apathy of the Catholic laity on the subject of education, producing in them both an unwillingness to pay as they ought for their children's instruction, and a notion that a liberal education can be completed when a boy is but fifteen or sixteen years of age. Driven almost to despair by these irremediable evils, to say nothing of the harassing effects of pecuniary responsibilities, and the necessity which has existed for creating an English literature fit for the cultivation of the youthful Catholic mind, what wonder that some of our great seminaries have almost sunk under their difficulties; that they scarcely know what a perfect educational system is; and that the liabilities of debt are at times

[1] *Rambler*, December, 1848, p. 236.

the least of the troubles which paralyse the energies of those who would raise the position of our ecclesiastics and laymen to a condition of which none need be ashamed? What wonder that bishop after bishop is called away to his eternal reward, and president after president resigns his toilsome task before the end which they have been striving to attain is finally accomplished?"

It would seem that this picture was taken from Prior Park, the College with which he was personally acquainted; and some at least of the difficulties, especially those concerning finance, which led a little later to the closing of the College, were not felt to the same extent in the older established foundations such as Ushaw, Oscott, or St. Edmund's. Moreover, there were Colleges belonging to the Regulars quite as flourishing as the secular Colleges, and though not free from difficulties, these were of a somewhat different kind. Stonyhurst was probably the most flourishing of all the Catholic Colleges at that date. Downside and Ampleforth were then on a smaller scale. The school at Ratcliffe had been founded by the Fathers of Charity only the previous year. The existence and size of these numerous Colleges raised up as they were by a small and poor body such as the Catholics of those days, after the total destruction of their foreign Colleges a short half-century before, is surely a proof of their esteem for education.

But even as regards Prior Park and the secular Colleges Mr. Capes was not well informed. He was evidently under the impression that there were no funds for the education of Church students, and that they were accepted free, so that their education had practically to be paid for out of the profits of those not destined for the Church, and that in return they were called upon to teach before they were properly qualified—a mischievous misstatement, not far from the very reverse of the truth.[1] He writes as follows:—

[1] The system ordinarily in force was brought before the public notice in the well-known Oscott trial, FitzGerald *v.* Northcote, in 1866, in the course of which a statement had been made similar to that of Mr. Capes in the *Rambler*. Dr. Northcote, the President, explained that the pension for Church students was paid regularly by the Bishop out of funds at his command for that purpose, and as this was a regular source of income, the lay students could be—and are—taken at the same figure, which but for the numbers so made up would be unremunerative, and consequently impossible.

"Our whole system, so to call it, may be described in a single phrase: it is a sacrifice of the ecclesiastics to the seculars, and of the seculars to the ecclesiastics. With no sufficient funds for the education of the young clerical student, and yet bound by an iron necessity to find, at whatever sacrifice, something like a supply for the wants of the missions, each Bishop has been driven to employ the ecclesiastical student, so soon as he has ceased to be a mere boy, in the instruction of the lay scholars and the younger Church students, as some sort of counterbalance of the expense of the education of the ecclesiastics themselves. . . . . What *can* he do but support his young ecclesiastics out of the funds that are paid for the education of the seculars, and in return employ the ecclesiastics in the teaching and discipline of his College? . . . The young ecclesiastic never receives anything more than the barest elements of an education, both secular and theological; and the lay scholar is taught by youths whose studies have been cut ruthlessly short before they had learnt one-half of what was needed to enable them to teach others."

The article had a mixed reception among Catholics. There were some indeed who thought it was well to have attention directed to the shortcomings of their Colleges, even though these were stated in an exaggerated and inaccurate way; but many others took offence. Dr. Ullathorne wrote a vigorous denunciation of the article in the form of a letter to the *Tablet*,[1] declaring that it was the work of a small group of a party who tried to depreciate everything Catholic, and whom he expressly dissociated from "the great body of converts who do honour to our holy Faith, and set an example worthy of our imitation". He declared that though he had been in his early years at a Protestant school of repute, he had "learnt more on first entering a Catholic College (Downside) than in years before". Frederick Oakeley, as being himself a convert, but yet having had experience of Catholic education at St. Edmund's, where he studied his theology, wrote an answer. He corrected the writer on some of his facts, and while frankly admitting certain shortcomings, he controverted the general conclusion, which he attributed to a

[1] See the *Tablet*, December 9, 1848, p. 787.

want of grasping the difference between Catholic and non-Catholic types of education as then prevalent in England.

"The difference between the existing English Catholic idea of education and that to which we were accustomed at Oxford" (he wrote)[1] "is, as you well knew, a fundamental one; the one making the formation of (mental) character its great aim, the other at storing the mind with a certain amount of valuable facts. Hence *our* acquirements seem to Catholics 'limited,' and *their* intellectual character and habits seem to us shallow and desultory. . . . The statement that Catholic youths are less well educated than any corresponding class in any of the Protestant sects appears to me to want qualification. Less well educated perhaps according to our former and, I believe, truer view of education; but according to that which is most popular in Europe, as well as in parts of Great Britain, possibly not so."

The controversy developed into another channel, concerning the mutual relations between lay and clerical education, into which it is not necessary to follow it. One important remark of Mr. Capes, however, opens out such a wide field of thought as to be worth consideration. He argued that Catholic education should be judged by its results, and proceeded to say:—[2]

"What then is our literary and intellectual condition at the present moment? Can we claim a high place in English literature? Can we claim any place at all? Is there such a thing as a Catholic English literature in existence from the profoundest theology down to the most trifling school books?"

To some extent he unwittingly answered himself a few lines later, when he excluded writers educated at "Rome, Maynooth, Douay, or any other foreign or non-Catholic Seminary". It is hardly necessary to point out that when our Colleges were abroad they were manned by English superiors, and were not in any sense foreign, and naturally most of the Catholic writers of the previous generations had been educated at one or other of them. However, Mr. Capes only admits this as a partial explanation, and a few words on the subject may reasonably be called for.

In alluding to the state of Catholics at the end of the

[1] *Rambler*, January, 1849, p. 373. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 326.

eighteenth century, the present writer, after enumerating the chief Catholic writers of the period, ventured the remark[1] that "It may be doubted whether any body of men of so small numbers as the Catholics of that day could have produced a list of writers comparable to this". Half a century later the same could not be said. It was admittedly a period of dearth in Catholic writers. Döllinger, who was familiar with English literature, wrote to Wiseman in 1835,[2] "Your Milners, Butlers and others are gone, without having left successors". Nevertheless, when we come to examine lists, we find a fair number of Catholics of literary or scientific eminence, quite apart from the converts. Lingard was still amongst us, and his name has gone down to posterity as one of the first historians of his own or any other age. Wiseman as an Oriental student, Daniel Rock as an archæologist, and Charles Waterton, the celebrated naturalist, were hardly to be surpassed in their respective spheres, and all of them came from good old Catholic stock both by birth and education—educated at Ushaw, St. Edmund's, and Stonyhurst respectively.

It is not uninteresting to compare with Mr. Capes's confident statement an equally confident one on the other side. Mr. Miles Keon, an old Stonyhurst boy, for a short time editor of *Dolman's Magazine*, wrote on the subject, claiming that a large proportion of the most eminent writers of the day were Catholics. He gave a list, which he admitted to be far from complete; and moreover, he made no distinction between convert and old Catholic or between Irish and English, but his list included several English Catholic names. He writes as follows:—[3]

"The greatest British poet now living is beyond all comparison Thomas Moore. Thomas Moore is a Catholic. The greatest British historian now living [Lingard] is a Catholic—nay a Catholic clergyman. The greatest British writer in light letters is a Catholic—a Catholic clergyman and a Jesuit; I mean the Rev. Francis Mahony, better known as 'Father

[1] *Dawn of Catholic Revival*, i., p. 313. [2] *Life of Wiseman*, i., p. 140.

[3] *Dolman's Magazine*, April, 1846, p. 317. It may be doubted whether the writer improved his case by the inclusion of such names as Moore and Mahony, neither of whom were practising Catholics.

Prout'. Mr. Newman is surely an eminent man and he is a Catholic. The Society of Jesus with its many eminent men is Catholic. Dr. Wiseman, the most celebrated man of science who in this country for many, many years has devoted his writings and his lectures to the advancement of religion, and of the Divine glory—Dr. Wiseman, with whose eloquent and profound disquisitions anyone pretending to a literary character would blush not to be familiar, is not only a Catholic, but a Catholic Bishop. The learned historiographer of Arundel, and editor of *Dodd's Church History*, the Rev. M. A. Tierney, F.S.A., F.R.S., is a Catholic clergyman and chaplain to a Catholic duke. The Rev. Dr. Miley, author of a very profound and laborious work, to which he suffered not his name to be appended, and who joins a truly Oriental imagination with the most painstaking erudition, is a Catholic, and one of the most celebrated of Ireland's preachers. Mr. Faber, one of the writers of the *Lives of the British Saints*, and author of some beautiful poetry, is a Catholic. Mr. Ambrose Lisle Phillipps is a Catholic. Richard Lalor Shiel is a Catholic. Mr. Beste and Mr. Wyse are Catholics. Mr. Digby, the author of *Mores Catholici* or *The Ages of Faith*, is a Catholic. Mr. Waterton, a celebrated *Wanderer*, and the first ornithologist of the day, is a Catholic. Dr. Oliver, the greatest antiquary of the day, is a Catholic."

About this time another literary question came up which served to divide Catholics into two parties almost the same as converts and Old Catholics respectively. It arose out of the union of the Oratorians with the Wilfridians. Faber was engaged, with the authorisation of Dr. Walsh and Dr. Wiseman, on a series of *Lives of Modern Saints*, several of which had already appeared, and the question arose whether Newman on behalf of the Oratory would adopt the series. He asked for a year to consider the matter before coming to a decision. The *Lives* were translations from those written in foreign countries and were in many respects different from anything in the devotional literature of the English Catholics of that day. Faber found fault with Alban Butler for not giving greater prominence to the more supernatural side of the saints' works—to their miracles and prophecies as well as to their austerities, declaring that he wrote like a Protestant.

The air of reserve on such matters was alien to his mind, and he was ready to believe any story of the supernatural, however marvellous. On one occasion he looked upon himself as the recipient of a miracle, though if carefully analysed what happened resolves itself into the temporary alleviation of a headache for a couple of hours, while he was admittedly under great devotional excitement.[1] Now in many of the Lives which he translated the same spirit was shown of easily believing in the presence of the supernatural. In a Catholic country, where faith is strong, this is quite ordinary: the account of a miracle seems almost an everyday occurrence. In England, on the other hand, where the spirit of incredulity is in the air, there is a natural shyness of miracles unless there is abundant proof of their genuineness. It is indeed probable that many miracles have happened which cannot be proved, and there are occasions when mere probability may be practically accepted for devotional as distinct from controversial purposes by Catholics; but considering the strong tendency of such occurrences to grow in the telling, and the harm which may be done in a country such as England if it can be alleged that Catholics believe such marvels without proof, many thought that greater care ought to be taken in the selection of what miracles to record even for the devotion of Catholics. This spirit is at least in accord with that of our present Holy Father, Pius X., who has taken many steps to suppress from the breviary or elsewhere unauthenticated miracles.

Another fault found was the disclosure of many extreme scandals prevalent in the Church at certain times and places, such as, for example, are detailed in the Life of St. Alphonsus, which would, it was said, be a scandal to the weak, especially to Protestants; but many others joined issue on that point, and took their stand on the Gospels themselves. Had they been written on this principle, it was said, the fall of St. Peter would never have been recorded, and perhaps it would not have been admitted that Judas had ever been an Apostle. It was reasonable when scandals were fresh not to bring them to mind for fear of reviving ill feeling; but when they were sufficiently old to become history, it was better (they contended) that the truth should be known.

[1] See his *Life*, p. 377.

As to the probable effect of such disclosures on the average reading non-Catholic, we may perhaps quote the following paragraph from a private letter of Capes, the editor of the *Rambler*, who would be well qualified to judge in such a matter, addressed to Dr. Ullathorne:—[1]

"As to the general effect of the revealing of the inner condition of the Church upon Protestants, I do not hesitate to say that the more complete is the picture which is presented to well-disposed Protestants (and we cannot concern ourselves with any others), the more likely they are to be convinced. An Englishman especially is given to suspect a too favourable picture. He has been brought up to believe all sorts of monstrous absurdities of the Catholic religion, and when Catholics would have him believe that the Church on earth is as pure as the Church in heaven, his common sense rebels, and he feels that he is being more or less imposed upon. But show him the real truth, let him see the struggle between good and evil ever going on, and the perpetual ultimate triumph of the former, and he will come to perceive that this result is exactly what is foretold by our Lord and His Apostles. Your Lordship very likely knows the saying among lawyers that it is most dangerous to a client *to prove too much* on his behalf."

It is probable, however, that much of the feeling against the *Lives* related to their literary form. Writing for Catholics, in a Catholic country, it was natural to speak of Protestants as "heretics" or "perverse persons," or "on the high road to perdition". Such expressions were indeed applied not to modern Englishmen, born and bred outside the Church, but to the original propagators of Protestantism; nevertheless, it was clearly a mode of speech which did not commend itself as prudent or even charitable in a country such as this. To Faber's mind such expressions were wholly congenial, and in this we probably have the key to much of the ill feeling, namely, because he, a convert of two or three years' standing, was finding fault with Alban Butler and endeavouring to introduce a new spirit and ethos among a body many of whom had been Catholics before he was born.

Matters became further complicated when a virulent attack on the *Life of St. Rose of Lima* appeared in *Dolman's*

[1] *Birmingham Archives* (Begbroke). The letter is dated November 6, 1848.

Magazine, a recently founded monthly, chiefly supported by old Catholics. The writer, however—the Rev. Edward Price—was a convert, but of a very different school from the Oxford men, having been formerly a Presbyterian. In one of his letters he admitted that he was moved to write by his annoyance of the slighting manner in which Faber spoke of Alban Butler. The points which he selected for criticism were two. One was the minute account of some of the extraordinary penances of the saint—the spiked chains and other wounding implements which she carried on her body—which he said were not fit for the public eye, even if they were in themselves to be approved of. He quoted the maxim "non omnia acta sanctorum sunt sancta," and questioned whether St. Rose was justified in what she did; he said that at least Alban Butler was discreet in not stressing such details. His second contention, however—that St. Rose in her extreme devotion to images was practically guilty of idolatry—seems a survival of his Presbyterianism, but it serves also to betray the fact how the English Catholics had been affected by their surroundings so as to be shy of practices which appear quite natural in a Catholic atmosphere.

As against the feeling here described, Newman received many letters from converts and others, testifying to the profit they had derived from reading the *Lives*. When the time approached for him to come to a decision as to whether the Oratorians would adopt the series, he wrote Dr. Ullathorne, who had recently been installed as Vicar Apostolic of the Central District and had so become his Bishop, for advice, without any definite allusion to Mr. Price's article. Dr. Ullathorne's answer was a reasoned exposition of the old Catholic view, and coming from such a quarter, long though it be, is worth giving in full :—[1]

"BIRMINGHAM, *October* 31, 1848.

"DEAR MR. NEWMAN,

"I have not yet received replies from Bishops Hendred and Brown of Lancashire on the subject of the *Lives of the Saints;* but I have conversed with Bp. Wareing, and I also took the opportunity of speaking with two superiors of Religious Orders, the President of the Benedictines and Père Held, both sound and discreet men.

[1] *Birmingham Archives* (Begbroke).

"I find that the general opinion is still the same in whatever quarter I enquire, viz. that the spirit of the *Lives* as given in these translations is not adapted to the state of this country; that even religious persons and nuns do not find in them a wisdom according to sobriety, and that to the laity in general they are the source of uneasiness as they are written. It is observed by Bishop Wareing that great vices in individual priests, and broad abuses in the Church are frequently described in them, which in a country where the real spirit of the general body is not understood, may do much injury. It is remarked by another of my correspondents that the eccentricities of certain saints was (*sic*) not part of their virtues, yet the prominent description of them to an uncatholic population will be misapprehended.

"I may take the liberty to add that I believe good Catholics would read and reap fruit from such works even without abridgment in the originals, who would not feel exactly the same in perusing the translations. The unction of a writer much devoted to a particular saint is apt to escape a good deal in translation, unless the translator has been drawn to the work by a congenial spirit, and be much versed in the study of the saint. The reader also feels in the original that he is reading with a people who are thoroughly Catholic, and who know the whole genius of a Catholic society and of its saints. Whilst reading the same facts in English, with all the differences too of a translation, he feels he is reading with a people filled with anti-Catholic sentiments, and prepared to misunderstand. A Catholic people apprehend the precise sense and value of what they read according to the spirit of the author; an uncatholic people will take the exaggeration of the letter, a letter too made still more a letter in the process of translation. Nor do I think that you think that there is to be no 'Reserve in the communication of religious knowledge'. Even to the disciples of our Lord in part, and in this country at least there are as many things which they communicated, could not be borne, and many things of wisdom and of mystery are still as formerly fit only for the more advanced. By proposing more than the Church proposes even of the wonders of God and His Saints, for so many do and will take it to be, whatever be our own intentions, we may lay burdens greater

than can be borne by a weak faith, an act which our Lord avoided doing, and we may deter those who were only seeking after the beginnings of faith altogether.

"Perhaps one good way to test the matter would be to suppose individual cases. How many individuals are there that we know, well-intentioned persons, into whose hands we should fear the consequence of putting this volume or that. Does it then do to put prominently forward, and in great quantities so as to make it a conspicuous portion of our Catholic literature, our extremest teaching, prepared originally for men full of faith and for the perfect? Has this ever been done in any portion of the Church? The Bollandists are not a case in point; they were not like the present series a popular publication. Even as separate works, many of these lives were written for a particular class, and others for a particular locality, where a very full tradition regarding the saint prepared the mind of the general reader.

"From these remarks you will, my dear Mr. Newman, collect my opinion, and I may add, that of many others regarding the lives in their present form; and so soon as I receive the opinions of the other Bishops with whom I have communicated, I will convey them to you.

"I wish you and your good confrères a happy feast, and pray that you may be numbered amongst all saints; remaining

"Your sincere friend and devoted servant in Christ,

"+ W. B. ULLATHORNE."

Before receiving this letter, Newman had already come to the conclusion that the series must be discontinued. He announced this determination in the following well-known letter to Father Faber:—

"MARYVALE, *October* 30, 1848.

"MY DEAR FATHER WILFRID,

"I have consulted the Fathers who are here on the subject of the *Lives of the Saints*, and we have come to the unanimous conclusion of advising you to suspend the series at present. It appears there is a strong feeling against it on the part of a portion of the Catholic community in England on the ground, as we are given to understand, that the lives of foreign

saints, however edifying in their respective countries, are unsuited to England and unacceptable to Protestants. To this feeling we consider it a duty, for the sake of peace, to defer. For myself you know well, without my saying it, how absolutely I identify myself with you in this matter; but as you may have to publish this letter, I make it an opportunity, which has not as yet been given me, of declaring that I have no sympathy at all with the feeling to which I have alluded, and in particular that no one can assail your name without striking at mine.

"Ever your affectionate friend and brother in our Lady and St. Philip,

"J. H. NEWMAN,
"*Congr. Orat. Presb.*"

Faber made no secret of the disgust which he felt at the turn which things had taken. In a letter to Bishop Wareing he wrote as follows:—[1]

"*November* 16, 1848.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"You will get this on the morning of St. Hugh, the day you kindly received me into the Church. How little did we, whom the *Lives of Catholic Saints* helped so much towards conversion, then dream that the Catholics of England should be so frightened, ashamed, or unsympathetic, whichever it may be, as to refuse to tolerate Catholic Lives of their own Saints, from Catholic pens, and with Catholic *Imprimaturs*, and that we, for whom it might have been feared that we should not become Catholic enough, should be authoritatively silenced for over-much sympathy with the Catholics of other lands. Alas! if we could but make our fellow-Catholics feel how this policy lowers the Church in the eyes of our Protestant countrymen! For us obedience is better than sacrifice; but the effect of this step in Oxford and elsewhere will be far beyond what any of you will believe, just as we are expecting another great move there. Converts may surely claim to know best what will convert others; but it is a sad confession on the part of the Catholic authorities that the English Catholics are unable to digest the literature of Catholic countries, and start away from what is not found too

[1] *Life and Letters*, p. 350.

strong even for their *Protestant* countrymen. However, *omnia co-operantur in bonum ;* and begging your Lordship's blessing,

"I remain,

"Your very obliged and affectionate servant,

"F. W. FABER."

The announcement of the cessation of the *Lives* produced much talk in Catholic circles, and the rumour gained credit that they had been suppressed by ecclesiastical authority. In order to counteract this idea, Dr. Ullathorne wrote a letter to the *Tablet* declaring that although he thought that certain changes of form might with advantage be adopted in succeeding volumes, he had never refused his approbation to the series, and would be ready to give it if asked. At the same time he expressed his disapprobation of the article in *Dolman*, which he declared he had always felt and never concealed.

This letter did not please Newman, who considered that a more emphatic condemnation of Mr. Price's article was called for. In a letter to Dr. Ullathorne he wrote about it as follows :—[1]

"There is one passage in your letter which pains me, and I know your Lordship's frankness too well to doubt you will allow me to mention it.

"The article in *Dolman* contains the words of one of my brethren : 'If this is not gross palpable idolatry, we are still ignorant of the meaning of the word. Has Mr. Faber forgotten the words of his Catechism? . . . Thus the little child is a better doctor of theology than the Editor of the Modern Saints, who can deliberately translate and publish this atrocious passage. We blush for shame that anyone calling himself a Christian, much more a Christian Catholic, and moreover, a Catholic priest, should translate and publish such very objectionable doctrine. But alas, the scandal has gone forth.'

"On the article in which these words are contained your Lordship remarks : 'I do not approve of the *general tenor* of the remarks in *Dolman's Magazine* in reference to the *Lives*'.

"My dear Lord, let me say it in all love and reverence to a generous mind like your Lordship's—while you were silent we believed that you felt strongly such words spoken

[1] *Birmingham Archives* (Begbroke).

against a Priest in your Lordship's District; but it grieves us very much to fancy that you do not more than disapprove of their 'general tenor,' accusing, as they seem to do, one of our body of promoting idolatry.

"Is it presumptuous in us to entreat your Lordship to consider how such a negative statement, published to the world, must wound us as coming from your Lordship?"

Dr. Ullathorne's answer to this letter is given in the *Life of Newman*,[1] and will well repay perusal. In answer to the question raised he simply said:—

"Old Catholics, familiar with all our habits, will consider that I have strongly censured the article in *Dolman's*, and marked the author for life. To have gone much further would, in my position, have looked more like passion than judgment. The words added 'that I had not concealed my opinion whenever the subject was brought up before me' show that my censure had been habitual until it came, when occasion offered, to a public expression."

At this stage the situation was cleared by Mr. Price suddenly veering round to the side of his fellow-converts. In the December number of *Dolman's Magazine* he published an apology—at the suggestion, it appeared, of Dr. Wiseman—and although it was not sufficiently strongly expressed to satisfy Newman or Faber, he explained that this was due to the hurry in which it was written; for after the receipt of Dr. Wiseman's letter there was only just time that night to get his article into *Dolman*, which was already in the press. In private letters he apologised more profusely.

"I beg in the most solemn way I can," he wrote to Dr. Ullathorne,[2] "to retract whatever I have said or written against the sanctity or the approved austerities of St. Rose of Lima, and to express my deep regret for the irreverent tone I adopted in the review.

"I trust, my Lord, that this explanation is sufficiently explicit, and that Mr. Newman will credit my assertion that I sinned more from ignorance than from malice. . . . If I have erred, and I have indeed done so, I am truly sorry,

[1] i., p. 212. Several other letters on the subject of the *Saints' Lives* are also given there.

[2] *Birmingham Archives* (Begbroke).

and willing to make every reparation in my power. I may have written heresy, but I will not be a heretic. I will not be obstinate in error."

He enclosed a letter of apology to Father Faber, and thus the incident came to an end. In a circular dated the Epiphany (January 6), 1849, the Oratorians announced the resumption of the series, under their joint editorship.

In the event, however, the series remained practically in Father Faber's hands. This may have been partly due to the fact that Newman gradually modified his own opinions and tended to coincide with Dr. Ullathorne's judgment in the matter.[1] But a more decisive reason was the change in the internal state of the Oratorian congregation which came about at this time. In the first place they found two houses a needless expense, and in the autumn of 1848 they gave up Maryvale in favour of St. Wilfrid's, Cotton, pending the time when they should be in a position to open their projected house in Birmingham. This they were able to do early in the following year. We can gain a clear idea of Newman's hopes and plans for the future from the following letter which he addressed to Bishop Ullathorne:—[2]

"St. Wilfrid's, Cheadle, *December* 30, 1848.

"My dear Lord,

"I am glad to inform your Lordship that the house in Alcester Street is at last made over to us, and we have sent whitewashers and charwomen in forthwith. We are still uncertain when it will be tenantable, for workmen are not very quick in their operations in an empty house, but no delay shall occur on our part. . . .

"We propose simply to set up an Oratory in Birmingham, and not to undertake a mission or formally to commit ourselves to its duties. I am sure your Lordship will understand us, and kindly enter into our feelings, when we say that this resolution has resulted from that more attentive consideration of the Pope's wishes concerning us, which our late correspondence with your Lordship has involved.

[1] See his general views written seventeen years later in his letter to Dr. Pusey in answer to the latter's Eirenicon, quoted in the *Life of Newman*, i., p. 216.

[2] *Birmingham Archives* (Begbroke).

"The three parts of an Oratorian's day, as your Lordship is doubtless aware, are said to be prayer, sacraments, and preaching; when by prayer are meant our peculiar exercises, and by sacraments those of Holy Eucharist and Penance. Our Confessionals, where there is need of it, should be open a good part of the day, and our exercises would involve the formation of the 'Oratorium Parvum' or Confraternity, of which our Rules speak.

"These are the duties to which we dedicate ourselves in the first place; though of course some time will elapse from the circumstances of the place before we shall be in a condition to fulfil them perfectly. In the meanwhile, then, while time is on our hands, we wish to offer it to your Lordship for such local missionary work as it may be natural for us to undertake. In this way I trust that without prejudice to our own position in the Church as Oratorians, we shall be able to take part in those missionary exertions which the present state of England so urgently demands.

"I am, my dear Lord, your faithful servant in Christ,

"JOHN H. NEWMAN,

"*Congr. Orat. Sac.*"

A further change soon followed, which could not have been altogether unexpected. It must have been evident from the beginning that two such leaders as Newman and Faber could not easily remain in the same community. In point of fact they had not been very much together, Newman having been chiefly at Maryvale and Faber at St. Wilfrid's; and he remained there as novice master after the opening of the Birmingham Oratory. But he did not remain long. A scheme for the foundation of an Oratory in London had often been discussed, and when by the death of Dr. Walsh in February, 1849, Dr. Wiseman became Vicar Apostolic of the London District, it seemed a suitable time to carry out the scheme, for it was known that he would look on it with favour. The prime movers in the scheme were the Earl of Surrey and Mr. David Lewis the convert, who became guarantors for the necessary expenses, and it was arranged that Father Faber, and those who were willing to accompany him, should carry out the undertaking. Two adjacent houses were obtained in

King William Street, Strand, at the back of which were some disused assembly rooms, known as the Lowther, consisting of a large room on the ground floor, and one of equal size above it. A lease of the property was secured, and the upper room was converted into a chapel. The lower room was divided, half serving as the Community Refectory, and the other half as St. Wilfrid's Chapel, in which the "Oratorium Parvum" or Little Oratory for laymen was to be inaugurated. The solemn opening took place on May 31, 1849, when Dr. Wiseman assisted pontifically at High Mass, and preached the sermon. The community at that time consisted of six Fathers and two novices.

The departure of the Oratorians from Cotton raised some difficult ecclesiastical problems. The Earl of Shrewsbury had made over the Hall to a religious Congregation, so that it was church property and could not be alienated; while he felt that the very object for which he had given it was now frustrated —for it was put in charge of a secular priest. He declared that he had intended to attach definite conditions to the gift, but Mr. Bagshawe had omitted to state them in drawing out the deed.

"As to the property of St. Wilfrid's," he wrote to Dr. Ullathorne,[1] "it would be perfect sacrilege to divert it from monastic purposes. I gave it them *because* they were a community, because I always felt that a religious community alone could convert that neighbourhood. This Father Faber knew from the beginning. . . . I approved of their joining the Oratory, because I considered it would strengthen their community, not dissolve it. . . . I did not then know the rules of the Oratory, nor Father Faber either, I believe, and least of all did I think it would induce them to act as they have done since and wholly frustrate all my views in giving them the property. . . . The very possibility of St. Wilfrid's being abandoned appears to me so shocking that I can only attribute Father Faber's letter to a certain aberration of mind; indeed we have often suspected him of being hardly sound."

Lisle Phillipps sided with his old friend and spoke in plain language. "Father Faber," he said to him, "God for your pride destroyed and brought to nought your first effort; He

[1] *Birmingham Archives* (Begbroke).

will curse and destroy your Order, and it will perish, if you go on thus."

The matter had to be referred to Rome; but it was eventually settled by the Passionists establishing themselves at Cotton.

One of the chief points of dispute between Lisle Phillipps and Faber was the attitude the Oratorians were taking up towards the Gothic revival. By this time they had completely fallen out with Pugin. The breach was on both sides. Pugin looked upon the Oratory as an institution wanting in the essential mediaeval characteristics which he regarded almost as part of his religion; they on their side were modelling all their observances more and more on the example of modern Rome. The following quotation from a letter written by Newman to Lisle Phillipps will indicate his views on the subjects:—[1]

"Mr. Pugin is a man of genius: I have the greatest admiration for his talents, and willingly acknowledge that Catholics owe him a great debt for what he has done in the revival of Gothic architecture amongst us.

"But" (he adds) "the Church while one and the same in doctrine ever, is ever modifying, adapting, varying her discipline and ritual, according to the times. . . . Gothic is now like an old dress, which fitted a man well twenty years back, but must be altered to fit him now. It was once the perfect expression of the Church's ritual at those places at which it was in use; it is not the perfect expression now. It must be altered in detail to become that expression. That is, it must be treated with a freedom which Mr. Pugin will not allow. I wish to wear it, but I wish to alter it, or rather, I wish him to alter it. This is his quarrel with us; not that we do not feel the greatest admiration of the Gothic style, but that we will not allow details which were proper in England in the Middle Ages to be points of faith now. Now for Oratorians, the birth of the sixteenth century, to assume the architecture simply and unconditionally of the thirteenth, would be as absurd as their putting on them the cowl of the Dominicans or adopting the tonsure of the Carthusians. We do not want a cloister or Chapter

[1] See the *Life of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle*, ii., p. 203 *seq.*, where these most interesting letters are given in full.

Room, but an Oratory. I, for one, believe that Gothic can be adapted, developed into the requisitions of an Oratory. Mr. Pugin does not: he implied in conversation with me at Rome that he would as soon build a Mechanics' Institute as an Oratory."

In another letter Newman says:—

"If Mr. Pugin persists, as I cannot hope he will not, in loading with bad names the admirers of Italian architecture, he is going the very way to increase their number. Men will not be put down without authority which is infallible. And if we quote authority, I suppose Popes have given a greater sanction to Italian than to Gothic."

Faber had, however, by this time proceeded further, and looked upon imitation of Roman models not as a matter of taste, but of principle. He apparently considered that he had a mission to introduce everything Roman to the Catholics of London, so as to counteract the semi-Gallicanism (as he considered) of the old Catholics. It is unnecessary to discuss here what foundation there was, or whether there was any at all, for such an accusation against the hereditary Catholics which was frequently made by a certain section of the converts. Certainly the Catholics themselves would have been the first to repudiate it. It is sufficient to say that it was the plea put forth for the extreme anxiety of Faber to be more Roman than Rome itself. And undoubtedly some of his practices were distasteful to them. As usual he loved to talk in extreme language, and seems to have had a special pleasure in startling them both by what he said and by what he did. He spoke of the Blessed Virgin as "dear mamma,"[1] and encouraged people to kneel before her statue, burn votive candles and the like. This latter form of devotion, with which we are now familiar, appeared strange to the English Catholics of that day. They had not indeed been accustomed until a few years before to have statues of the Blessed Virgin in their churches at all; but that was not the chief change. It is well known that in Rome itself statues of our Lady are the exception, not the rule; it is more common there to pay devotion to pictures than to images. In Catholic churches in England pictures of the Blessed Virgin were common enough; but anything like kneeling before one

[1] *Life*, p. 335.

THE ORATORY, KING WILLIAM STREET, LONDON

as an incentive to prayer, still more of burning lamps or votive candles before one, would to their minds have appeared as a "Continental" form of Catholicism, unsuited to England; and if they did at any time make their prayers before pictures at all, they would have been continually arguing with themselves the while to prove to imaginary adversaries that what they were doing was free from superstition. Another novelty was the weekly exercise of the Little Oratory, in which the "brothers" took the discipline in common—a practice which the old Catholics, with their instinct of shunning outward manifestation of religion, freely criticised. Then, also, the Oratory church was kept open all day for the purpose of private visits to the Blessed Sacrament. This too was an innovation, and contrary to the ideas of prudence entertained by the majority of the old Catholics. But the most important feature of the Oratory was the daily evening service, which was the introduction of a class of devotions to which we are now so accustomed that it is hard to imagine how they ever got on without them. They were accompanied by English hymns, most of which Faber himself composed during the succeeding years, and in accordance with the Oratorian tradition there was always a sermon. These services drew large attendances every evening.

When we consider that these novelties were introduced by a congregation of priests almost all of whom were converts,[1] it is easy to imagine the feeling of rivalry they caused—a feeling which was strengthened by the tendency of the Oratorians to stand by themselves and hold aloof from their brother clergy.

Faber, however, was not shaken in his determination to take Rome for his model, and to introduce everything Roman into England. He made his Fathers shave their tonsures and walk about the streets in their Oratorian habits. In those days this required no little courage, and the Fathers were so often insulted that they became loath to go out unless ab-

[1] The only exception so far as I can call to mind was Edward Bagshawe, afterwards Bishop of Nottingham, and he was the son of a convert, Mr. Henry Bagshawe. At the time of writing he is the sole survivor of the King William Street community. Later on Rev. Edward Keogh, an old Catholic, became a prominent member of the Oratory, and was for a time superior; and also Rev. Kenelm Digby Beste, though he was the grandson of a prominent convert, and there have of course been others since then.

solutely necessary, and many of them suffered through want of exercise. Faber, however, continued enthusiastic about the practice. "I walk down the street in my habit," he would say, "and I feel that I dispel invincible ignorance wherever I go."[1] W. G. Ward, with his relentless logic, objected, "but do you make conversions? for if you do not, the dispelling of invincible ignorance is not a good, but an evil, for it makes those who were formerly in good faith henceforth responsible for their errors!" In point of fact, however, the Oratorians did make numerous converts. They received them with a minimum of preparation, for Faber contended—as Wiseman had done—that once they were Catholics, the sacraments would do the rest. Among Faber's converts was the Duchess of Norfolk, the mother of the present Duke, and he was always afterwards intimate with the family.

The attitude of the converts towards their former co-religionists varied almost indefinitely. Speaking roughly, we may perhaps divide them in this respect into two groups, led by Newman and Faber respectively. The former of these continued to speak with respect and affection for those whom they had left behind. Some few, such as Ambrose Phillipps and Ignatius Spencer, went so far as to say that the Anglicans were in goodness of life the superiors of Catholics, only that they did not belong to the true Church. Newman and his followers did not belong to that group, and their feeling did not differ much from that of the old Catholics, who freely recognised that Protestants might be in good faith, and devoutly hoped that as many as possible were so. Faber, on the other hand, considered that the thoroughness of his Catholicism was best maintained by using severe words of non-Catholics—designating them as "heretics," and implying that their chances of salvation were small. The scandalous expression "Mother damnable," as applied to the Anglican Church by a few of the more extreme converts, is in itself a condemnation of that attitude; and the custom of speaking of Anglican clergymen as "bonzes" was very little better. Many of Faber's greatest

[1] The practice of going out in their habits continued several years; but it eventually attracted the notice of the Government, and in 1852 Lord Derby, during his short premiership, issued a proclamation forbidding the practice, which it was said was prohibited under the Catholic Emancipation Act.

friends, both Catholic and non-Catholic, regretted his language about Protestants, and considered that he was retarding the "reunion" which he had at heart. Rev. H. Alford in a letter to Lisle Phillipps expressed himself in this sense. "I am afraid my hopes of the restoration of unity have become weaker," he wrote; "for if such a man as Faber, who while he was with us was surely with us in heart and soul, can now speak as he does of the English Church, I am afraid our hope of reunion is very small."

The Oratorians soon secured a large following in London, and exercised a strong influence with their new methods of devotion. The Catholics of London became divided into two classes, familiarly styled the "Oratory Catholics" and the "Garden-of-the-soul Catholics," the latter of whom followed the more traditional methods based on Bishop Challoner's well-known prayer book. The two classes freely criticised each other. The Garden-of-the-soul Catholics were said to cultivate a dry style of piety, to make their religion unattractive, and even to be wanting in Catholic freedom of spirit. They retorted by accusing the Oratory converts of a want of stability, of a continual craving after novelty of devotion, of a readiness to believe any story of miracles, however improbable or ill supported, and of practising a *cultus* towards images and pictures which (they said) even bordered on the superstitious.

As a body half-way between the Oratorian converts and the Garden-of-the-soul Catholics we may perhaps instance the Jesuits, who opened their church at Farm Street on the feast of St. Ignatius, 1849—just two months after the establishment of the King William Street Oratory. The Jesuits had indeed received into their Order several prominent converts—such as George Tickell or Albany Christie or Edward Purbrick or others—but their traditions were far too strong to be sensibly affected by a comparatively small influx. Many of their traditions indeed were those of the old-fashioned English Catholics; but their rule was not of English origin and they were always in sufficiently close touch with the Jesuits of other countries to prevent them falling into a groove in quite the same way as some of their secular brethren. And they were continually receiving fresh converts, so that the congregation at Farm Street included a more even mixture of the two

classes—converts and old Catholics—than most of the other London congregations.

At the present day, when converts and old Catholics have happily blended together in full harmony, we are able to look back and see what we owe to the two classes respectively. The new devotional practices introduced by the Oratorians have for the most part survived, and become a permanent part of English Catholic spirituality, while the mannerisms and exaggerations by which they were accompanied have long since been forgotten. The continual craving after the miraculous and the supernatural have indeed given place to the more sober-minded matter-of-fact view of such matters taken by the hereditary Catholics. Moreover, the prevalent view taken to-day of such questions as the Pope's Temporal Power resembles that of the old Catholics rather than that of the converts, and it is well recognised that real and substantial loyalty to the Holy See does not require a continual imitation of Rome in small matters. In many cases the devotional works set on foot before the coming of the Oxford converts, such as the Society of St. Vincent of Paul or the "Oeuvre" for the Propagation of the Faith, or the Confraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary for the Conversion of Sinners,[1] exist to-day side by side with the more recent works of the kind instituted by the Oratorians and others. It is not too much to say that a mean has been found between the over-effusiveness of the converts and the extreme self-restraint of the old Catholics in their outward demeanour. We can now admire both the two types—the old Catholic with his steady, persevering, unostentatious self-sacrifice, and the regularity of his daily life, and the convert, with his whole-hearted zeal and enthusiasm, and his longing to see the Catholic religion spread itself in new directions. Both had their parts to play, and we can now profit by the example of both; but at the time it was inevitable that there should be friction, without which the mutual interaction of the two bodies could not have taken place.

[1] This Confraternity of which the centre is the well-known shrine of *Notre Dame des Victoires* in Paris, was introduced into England by Bishop Griffiths in 1844. It still flourishes at St. Edmund's College, and one or two other places.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ROOD SCREEN CONTROVERSY.

It is about the time with which we are now concerned that a new source of contention arose, the beginnings of which have been briefly alluded to in the previous chapter. This was the question of Roman *versus* Gothic—which agitated the Catholic body for more than a generation afterwards. The upholders of the two sides roughly coincided as a class with the converts and old Catholics respectively, the former being for the most part in favour of Roman, the latter of Gothic.

For this it is not difficult to see an explanation. To a member of the High Church party of the Anglican communion the traditions of our Gothic Cathedrals and parish churches stood for much. They denoted in their minds continuity with the pre-Reformation Church of this country, and their one longing was to see the Catholic ritual restored in all its fullness within their venerable walls. In this respect Pugin's ideas were wholly congenial to them, and in the days of the Tractarian Movement he was always a welcome visitor in their midst. What more natural than that he should build high hopes on them and look to their influence to help forward the movement on which he was so keen? When therefore they realised their inability to restore the ancient worship in the Anglican Churches and became Catholics, Pugin thought that he had gained a valuable accession of strength.

As soon as they had been received into the Church, however, a new point of view opened out before them. They realised in a manner in which they had not before done the full meaning of the unity of the Church which they had pined for in vain before their conversion. The centre of unity was Rome and the Holy See, and henceforth this formed the centre of their own lives and aspirations. The question ceased to be a matter of taste, and became one of principle. The Eng-

lish Catholics were not Roman enough for them; they were to be Romanised.[1] As already stated, the originators of this movement were the Oratorians; but it was by no means limited to them. The more extreme members of the party traced the misfortunes of the Reformation to the national spirit in the English Church, and looked on national architecture—rood screens, painted windows, pointed arches and the like—as positively suggestive of theological error. Moreover, the fact that the church's rubrics were drawn up in Rome, where classical architecture reigns supreme, renders it necessary to adapt them in some small details in a Gothic church; and this furnished an additional argument for the anti-Goths, who looked upon the ceremonies in Rome as absolute law down to the least particular. Thus Newman, who professed to be impartial on the matter, became practically an anti-Goth. "[Dr. Ullathorne] asked if F. Faber was not opposed to Gothic architecture, screens, etc.," he wrote:[2] "I said we all disliked *exclusiveness*, but nothing more—that I thought Gothic was extremely superior to Grecian as a matter of art, but that we wished to keep the Rubrics." And later in the same letter he admitted that "a so-called Englishman may speciously conceal under screens and roods a great deal of doctrinal error".

Some, however, of the more candid converts admitted that there was another force at work altogether, which was their longing to be set free from their old associations as Protestants. "We have been brought up in the midst of Gothic architecture and screens," they said, "and in our minds they are identified with dreary services and the Book of Common Prayer. We have put these away for ever, and naturally we wish to be freed from the outward expression of them."

It is hardly necessary to add that none of these considerations appealed to old Catholics. As to continuity of their Church with that of Catholic England, it never entered their heads to doubt it, and the idea of any link being required would

[1] A story is told of a prominent Oxford convert who was curate at a well-known London Catholic church at the time of "Papal Aggression". One morning his rector came to breakfast strongly incensed, because during the night a mischievous boy had chalked up in large letters on the church door, NO POPERY. "The boy is quite right," the convert calmly replied; "there is little or no popery here!"

[2] *Life*, i., p. 208.

not have even occurred to them. Similarly, they took the unity entirely for granted. They were also well acquainted with the friction inseparable from the government of the Holy See, so that they had no great desire to bring about a closer union in matters which were not essential. And as for the connection of Gothic architecture with the Anglican services, this was a sealed book to them, for they had rarely if ever been present at any, while in itself Gothic architecture is much more rightly connected with the Catholic religion than with the Protestant, both as to its history and its ethos. To them therefore the question was chiefly a matter of taste, with perhaps a feeling of pardonable pride that it was to their small body that Pugin belonged, and that his architectural reforms, which had gained a footing throughout the country, were avowedly based on Catholic principles.

Although, however, these causes acted normally in the direction indicated—as indeed they still do in our own day—there were exceptions to the rule. Some converts even after their reception into the Catholic Church continued to be Goths and retained their longing for anything that would bind them closer to the pre-Reformation Church in England. We have already come across a prominent instance of these in Mr. Ambrose Lisle Phillipps; and there were others. Even Faber and the Oratorians did not develop their anti-Gothic feelings for a considerable time after their conversion. Pugin himself indeed was a convert. On the other hand, some old Catholics, who had been educated at Rome, came back with all their tastes Romanised. They would pronounce Latin in the extreme Italian fashion—which was at that time wholly unusual—[1] and modelled their Church ornaments and the like on Roman usage; but they never went quite so far in this direction as many of the converts did.

It is probable, however, that Pugin himself was responsible to some extent for the anti-Gothic reaction which set in about

[1] The English Catholics had a system of their own for the pronunciation of Latin, which aimed at being "Continental vowels with English consonants". But the vowel sounds they used had an unmistakable Anglo-Saxon sound about them, and would hardly have been recognised on the Continent. The general introduction of the Roman pronunciation, which is now common—nicknamed by its adversaries the "chees and chaws"—dates from the early years of the Hierarchy, and was in its day the source of much argument and controversy.

this time. His tone of writing and speaking was so didactic and uncompromising that it almost provoked opposition. It is in fact a real testimony of his genius and power of writing that people stood it as long as they did; as he grew older and became more intolerant, there was less inclination to employ him, so that his practice showed a notable falling off.

In no instance was his capriciousness of temperament more pronounced than in the negotiations for the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament after the disastrous fire of October 16, 1834. A competition was arranged, in order to secure the best plans, it being understood that the new buildings were to be of the Gothic style. Here, it would at first sight appear that there was a unique opportunity for his genius; but he refused to be fettered by their conditions and did not enter his name in the competition. When he came to the point, however, he assisted at least two architects in their drawings. In one case—that of Mr. Gillespie Graham—Pugin took such a large share that the design has been considered practically his own. It was not, however, accepted. He had disregarded what was understood to be the wish of the umpires for a consolidated and compact building, and drawn instead a large group of buildings, which were indeed much admired, but did not fulfil the conditions wished for. The other architect whom he assisted was Charles Barry, and his plans gained the first place in the competition and were accepted. There has been much discussion in subsequent times as to how much of the design was due to Pugin, and several acrimonious pamphlets were issued on either side, after his death. During his lifetime he was on much too friendly terms with Charles Barry to think of raising the question, even if he had felt a wish to do so; but no man ever sought less after notoriety than Pugin. There is no need to follow the controversy here. It is admitted that all the detail work was his, and from what little evidence we have, it seems probable that he influenced the main plans to some extent, though exactly how far cannot be determined. Sir Charles Barry (as he afterwards became) was always ready and anxious that Pugin should receive suitable recognition for his share in the work. Yet curiously Pugin himself was far from satisfied at the result, which he characterised as "Tudor details on a classic body". But he con-

sidered it by far the best building put up in London in modern times and spoke very highly of Barry's talent.

The embankment to receive the building was begun in 1837; the new Houses of Parliament themselves in 1840. The work which they entailed kept Pugin so close to his desk that his health suffered, and this has been sometimes assigned as one of the chief causes of the distressing mental malady which came on him soon afterwards; for it must be remembered that during those years he was at the height of his reputation, and was building churches all over the country. He declared that the date fixed for the opening of the new Houses of Parliament—the spring of 1847—was an impossible one, and that they could not be made ready. The Queen was however inexorable, and by a great effort the House of Lords was advanced sufficiently to be used for the first time on April 22 of that year. The strain had been too much for Pugin, and he retired abroad for a rest from his work. It was on this occasion that he paid his first and only visit to Rome.

Pugin was in no true sense an anti-Roman. When the Pope received him and presented him with a medal in recognition of all he had done for the promotion of Christian art, he was full of gratitude, and prized the medal very highly. His devotion to the person of the Pope was as intense as that of the most pronounced Roman. But Rome itself was a great trial to him.

"I have now seen Rome," he wrote to a friend,[1] "and I do not hesitate to say that it is an imperative duty on every Catholic to defend true and Christian architecture with his whole energy. The modern churches here are frightful. St. Peter's is by far more ugly than I expected and vilely constructed—a mass of imposition, bad taste of every kind seems to have run riot in this place.

". . . I assure you I have felt quite depressed and miserable here; I shall be quite glad to get away. Were it not for the old Basilicas and associations connected with the early Christian antiquities it would be unbearable. The Sistine Chapel is a melancholy room, the Last Judgment is a painfully muscular delineation of a glorious subject, the Scala Regia is

[1] Ferrey's *Recollections*, p. 226.

a humbug, the Vatican a hideous mass, and St. Peter's is the greatest failure of all. It is quite painful to walk about."

He indeed described a visit to Rome as the "severest of all trials for the faith of a neophyte,"[1] but he also said that "the bad architecture there belongs to a *period*, not to a nation; for Italy is full of Gothic work, and within a short distance of the Eternal City".[2] His contention was that during the fourteenth century—just when the development of Gothic architecture was at its height—the Popes were at Avignon and Rome was desolate; and this accounted for the total absence of that style in the centre of Christendom. Certainly those who are familiar with the distinctive type of Italian Gothic as exhibited in the Cathedrals at Florence, Siena or Pisa,[3] and many other places should hesitate before saying that Gothic is unsuitable to the Italian temperament.

Pugin returned from the Continent partially restored in health, and had to devote himself during the next few months, amongst other things, to getting St. George's ready for its solemn opening in July, 1848, which has been described in a former chapter. A few weeks later, in the same St. George's, his own third marriage was celebrated, under the shadow of its great rood. He had been a widower five years; but his third wife—a daughter of Mr. John Knill of Typtree Hall, Herefordshire—was destined to survive him by more than half a century.

It seems to have been the erection of the screen and rood at St. George's which gave rise to the formal attack on screens which reached an acute stage during the next few years. The controversy was opened in the pages of the *Rambler* for July 29, 1848, by a correspondent who signed himself "X.," and was continued throughout anonymously. "X." attacked Pugin on his own ground. He declared that so far from screens being characteristically Catholic, the very reverse was the case.

"We walk into the Continental churches from Paris to Rome," he wrote, "and behold there is scarcely a screen found existing. Ruthlessly they are all swept away, and naught ap-

[1] Ferrey's *Recollections*, p. 375. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[3] The great Cathedral at Milan, one of the sights of the world, is not here mentioned, as it belongs to a more northern style of Gothic.

pears save an occasional division of open iron-work or low railings, some two or three feet high, to separate chancel and sanctuary from the gaze of the assembled multitudes. In Protestant England alone the old fabrics are preserved and restored with religious care. In her Cathedrals, now the strongest bulwarks of anti-Roman sentiments, these venerable and beautiful works are found, the admiration of visitors, the boast of Deans and Chapters, and the study of ardent antiquaries and aspiring architects."

He then discusses the matter in two bearings, (1) architectural and (2) liturgical, and condemns them on both. And he protests against two mutually incompatible answers which are given by the defenders of screens. In the first place they tell one that the revival of screens was only going back to antiquity, for it was always customary for the priest to be hidden from the congregation during the solemn parts of the Mass, and that this custom still survived in the Eastern Church. Then they would tell one that the new screens being open and light did *not* hide the priest and ministers. He said that the latter statement was in a sense true—they did not absolutely hide the priest; but they were a hindrance to vision, and "teased the eye" to look through.

"X." was answered by "T.W.M.," who defended screens on the usual traditional grounds. But he wrote with some *animus*, and declared that "those who share the opinion of your correspondent 'X.' must be content to frequent for the rest of their lives such noble fanes as Warwick Street Chapel". This brought another correspondent into the field, who signed himself "H.," and quietly observed that "T.W.M." "forgets that there is another alternative—they may frequent such noble fanes as St. Peter's at Rome".

The controversy continued for many months, and the letters were long and at times heated. The two parties became known as the "Screenites" and "Anti-screenites". Both sides maintained that they were arguing in defence of Catholic principles; and they became bitterly opposed to one another in consequence. Only one correspondent disclosed his identity. This was "H.," who was W. G. Ward. He indeed professed great admiration for Pugin's genius, but having attacked his principles, he felt bound to inform him who he was.

His information brought forth a characteristic reply from Pugin :—[1]

"SIR,

"It needed not your note to convince me that you were the perpetrator of the scandalous letter. I can only say that the less we have to do with each other in future the better, for I must plainly tell you that I consider you a greater enemy to true religion than the most rabid Exeter Hall fanatic."

It was on receipt of this letter that Mr. Ward made his oft-quoted remark, "I knew Pugin was strong in rood screens; I did not know he was so good a hand at rude letters".

For a while the correspondence was diverted to a side issue. One of the "anti-screenites" maintained that screens were wholly "incompatible" with the "new offices" of Exposition and Benediction. This led to a discussion on East windows which were declared to be equally incompatible. It was said that many such windows had been blocked up on the Continent, and an East window with a square end to the church—a feature common in English parish churches—was still more incompatible. In answer to this, some went so far as to deny that Exposition was suitable to England at all, and declared that it would never become popular with English congregations. Benediction, however, was universally given, which included a short Exposition. In point of fact the *Quarant'Ore*, or Forty Hours' Exposition, was already beginning to become known. In the North of England it was by no means uncommon as an occasional ceremony especially in times of missions; and during the next year or two it was introduced into London as a regular annual event in each church.[2] It is at least a curious fact that the first Exposition of the kind to take place in London was in a church with a heavy rood screen—the very church which had given rise to the whole controversy. During the time that the letters were actually appearing in the *Rambler*,

[1] See *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 155, where the letter is given from memory.

[2] As there were not enough churches at that time to enable the arrangement to be carried out, which is common in Catholic countries, of having Exposition in one church or another continuously through the year, Dr. Wiseman arranged to have it in this manner throughout Lent. It is only in recent years that the churches have become sufficiently numerous to extend it throughout the year as is now done.

in October, 1848, the Forty Hours' Exposition took place at St. George's.

It was not to be expected that while such a controversy was going on Pugin would be a silent listener. He put forth at least three answers. One was an article in the *Tablet;* this he followed up by a pamphlet entitled "Remarks on Articles in the *Rambler*," published in 1850; and he prepared a book on the whole subject, entitled *Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts* which appeared the following year. All these were written in his usual spirited style, though as usual, they are full of exaggerated statements. Whatever views we may take about the conclusions he comes to and their applicability to modern conditions, they will well repay perusal.

We begin with the *Tablet* article, which appeared during the progress of the controversy, and is therefore the most actual. The following quotations give a fair idea of its contents. They show how deadly in earnest Pugin felt on the matter, and how it went to the very heart of his sensitive nature. He begins by expressing his astonishment that the controversy should have arisen at all.

"It is not surprising," he writes,[1] "that a Calvinist should revile the sacred Images of Rood, or that a follower of Knox should break down the screen work of the Sanctuary; but to find these things attacked by our own brethren, and even by men whom we have been accustomed to venerate for their piety and learning, and whose zeal and sincerity we cannot suspect, I say to find ourselves placed as antagonists to those with whom we wish and ought to be locked in the strongest bonds of Christian affection, is heart-breaking, and almost sufficient to overwhelm us with despair."

A little later he gives full vent to his feelings as to the origin and nature of the attack which has to be combated, and the duty of every good Catholic enlisting himself on (as he considered it) the right side :—

"Well may we expect a clamour to be raised, for Satan beholds an engine of power arising against his kingdom such as hath not been seen in the land for hundreds of years; he beholds the mouldering remains of ancient works of piety which in the days of his triumph were unroofed and cast down now become

[1] *Tablet*, September 2, 1848, p. 563.

the objects of veneration and care ; men of all states turning again with anxious inquiry towards the remains of ecclesiastical antiquity. . . . England is indeed awakened to a sense of her ancient glory. . . .

" For all these things the powers of darkness wrestle with us, and each succeeding triumph of the cross adds to their fury ; and when the glorious Rood was again erected in the metropolis of England,[1] surrounded with burning tapers and flowering branches, and surpliced choristers, after its demolition by Act of Parliament, and three centuries of prostration, it was hardly to be expected that such a triumph, such a theme for exultation, could have passed over without some oppressing voice. No ; but the reproach came not from the Calvinistic rabble, it was not raised by Protestant Commissioners and with Parliamentary powers. It was declared *intolerable* by a son of the Church, and the last yell of Protestant exultation which accompanied the fall of the Rood in the Elizabethan era has been faintly echoed by a Catholic writer on its restoration in the nineteenth century. . . .

" I solemnly warn all men that the present objection is a mere feeler which appears on the surface to try the current of men's minds, and how far they dare proceed ; beneath lies a system of deadly enmity to the fundamentals of Church architecture and Catholic art. It is a new version of the old fable of the Woodman who asked the trees for a handle to his axe, which once obtained he hewed down without mercy. The Screens once gone, the Chancels will follow, aisles, chapels, apse, all, and the Cathedral sinks into an Assembly room. . . .

" These, I may say, divine structures, so solemn, so grand, so mysterious that in their ruin and decay they strike even the worldling with awe, have no charm for these men of new-fangled ideas, they would have everything *en evidence*, and in lieu of a *church*, they would give us a room, hung about with gauze and calico, a *salle de spectacle* for a gazing congregation.

" *Let no man be deceived. The question at issue is between Church or room worship ;* whether the type of a Catholic temple is to be taken from the glorious works of our faithful ancestors or a modern preaching house, for stript of its altar a modern Italian church is a mere room. It may be stuccoed,

[1] I.e. in St. George's.

pilastered, gilt, frescoed, draped from cornice to pavement, but it is still a room, devoid of solemnity or devotion; and yet there is the ultimatum of the principles and ideas which are now put forth against the ancient enclosures of the chancels, and the better to enlist the unwary and pervert the devout, these objections are made under colour of a pretended incompatibility with our present devotions to our Lord in the Holy Eucharist. Monstrous fallacy! What, is it only within the last few years that the Church of Christ has learnt to adore her God in the all-adorable Sacrament? Was this devotion unknown to the long succession of Saints, Prelates, Abbots, Monks and men who raised every noble church in Christendom? Was not the Holy Sacrament honoured and adored when the great tabernacle eighty feet in length was raised under the stupendous vaults of Cologne in the fourteenth century? When the blessed Host, borne under a canopy sustained by princes and accompanied by an almost interminable length of clergy in richest vestments, and amidst a forest of blazing tapers moved through the streets of ancient cities, where every house fronted with canopied saints, and hung with needlework and cloth of gold was crowded with faithful worshippers unalloyed with the Calvinist or the scoffer? Was not the Holy Sacrament adored and honoured when the very festival which bears its name was instituted, and which is coeval with the erection of the very buildings and screens now denounced as incompatible?"

As time went on, the anti-screenites became more and more active. True the days for blocking up East windows, on the plea that they distracted the attention from the tabernacle, had not yet come, so far as this country was concerned; still less the time when people began to cut up Gothic vestments to the Roman shape, and to pick off the ornamentation in order to substitute cheap yellow trimmings. Moreover, Pugin did not live to see even the anti-screen movement take effect in the way in which it has done since, and he was able to write in his *Treatise on Rood Screens* that "the modern ambonoclasts unlike their predecessors confine their attacks to strokes of the pen; and we do not believe that they have hitherto succeeded in causing the demolition of a single screen".[1]

[1] *Treatise on Rood Screens*, p. 99.

In minor ways, however, they were working with effect. In many cases where stone *sedilia* were found, they were discarded on the plea that they injured the vestments of the sacred ministers, and a common bench or form was placed in front, with cheap calico covering of the colour of the day. The altar candlesticks were replaced by larger ones, of classical design, quite out of proportion to their surroundings; the altars were decked with gilt artificial flowers or tinsel ornaments, standing on wooden *gradinos*, painted in imitation of marble; votive candlesticks and lamps of classical pattern were placed before ugly statues, and the like. The clergy among them also imitated the dress of the Italian priests—knee-breeches and buckled shoes were considered essential, and a capeless cassock[1] with a sash, and a biretta worn at all times. Needless to say, they pronounced Latin with an extreme Roman accent, and introduced numberless small ceremonial customs from Rome. All this was professed to be done on motives of loyalty to the Holy See, and as a corrective to the supposed Gallican tendencies of the hereditary Catholics. The more extreme Romanisers even imitated the slovenliness prevalent there. They would celebrate Mass in a rapid and careless manner, and would talk freely at the altar or in choir. Some even went such lengths as to spit in the church, a practice which they said denoted the feeling of being at home there which a Catholic should have. One well-known convert allowed a small dog to run about his church, declaring that the collar bells had a devotional effect—his real reason being no doubt that in Rome dogs are not excluded from the churches.

Pugin saw no humour in all this. "I am lost in grief at what I daily hear and behold," he wrote,[2] "and I think it

[1] The instinct of this class of priest to wear a cassock without a cape, in imitation of the Roman model, is specially curious, since—if the tradition be true—the English custom of wearing cape and over-sleeves was due to the Pope himself. It is said that Wiseman told his Holiness that there was great variety of pattern in the cassocks in use by English priests, and asked for an authoritative shape which might be enforced; and Pope Pius replied, "Tell them to wear the same dress as I do, only black instead of white". According to this the proper priest's dress in England includes a cape over the cassock, and also a black sash; this is exactly the dress adopted by Manning for his Oblates, and still worn by them; but among the ordinary diocesan clergy the sash has never been in general use.

[2] In a letter to an unknown correspondent (*Birmingham Archives*).

only honest to tell you that I hold the new system in nearly as much horror as the principles of Voltaire; for an architectural heathen is only one remove from an infidel, and in his way more dangerous."

Elsewhere he gives his views more in detail:—[1]

"Bad as was the Paganism of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was dressed out in much external majesty and richness; but now nothing is left but the fag end of this system; bronze and marble are replaced by calico and trimmings; the works of the sculptor and the goldsmith are succeeded by the milliner and the toyshop; and the rottenness of the Pagan movement is thinly concealed by thin paper and ribands—the nineteenth century apeings of the dazzling innovations of the Medicean era. Cheap magnificence, meretricious show, is the order of the day; something pretty, something novel, calico hangings, sparkling lustres, paper pots, wax dolls, flounces and furbelows, glass cases, ribands and lace are the ornaments and materials usually employed to decorate, or rather disfigure the altar of sacrifice and the holy place. It is impossible for Church furniture and decoration to attain a lower depth of degradation, and it is one of the greatest impediments to the revival of Catholic truth. It is scarcely possible for men to realise the awful doctrines and the majestic ritual of the Church under such a form; and yet these wretched novelties are found on the altars of some of the most venerable temples equally as in the abortions of modern erection. They disfigure alike the Cathedral of the city and the wayside chapel of the mountain pass; they flourish in religious communities, and are even tolerated in the seminaries for the education of the priests of the sanctuary. Bad, paltry, miserable taste has overrun the externals of religion like a plague; and to this state of deplorable degradation would these new men bind our desires and intellects as if it were of God, and on a par with the noble works achieved in the times of zeal and faith, and at a period when all the art and talent of Christendom was devoted to the one object of increasing the glory and magnificence of the great edifices devoted to the worship of Almighty God."

[1] *Rood Screens*, p. 101.

The climax was reached when the London Oratory was opened in old Assembly Rooms. Pugin poured out his soul to the Earl of Shrewsbury :—[1]

"Has your Lordship heard that the Oratorians have opened the Lowther Rooms as a Chapel!!! A place for the vilest debauchery, masquerades, etc. One night a masked ball, next Benediction. This appears to me perfectly monstrous, and I give the whole order up for ever. What a degradation for religion! Why, it is worse than the Socialists. What a place to celebrate the mysteries of religion in! I cannot conceive how it is allowed. It cannot even be licensed or protected by the law, since they only have it for a time. It is the greatest blow we have had for a long time; no men have been so disappointing as these. Conceive the poet Faber come down to the Lowther Rooms! The man who wrote 'Thoughts and Sights in Foreign Churches'!!! hiring the Lowther Rooms! Well may they cry out against screens or anything else. I always said they wanted rooms, not churches, and now they have got them. Sad times, I cannot imagine what the world will come to if it goes on much longer."

As time went on his depression increased. His health was failing more rapidly than he knew, and although he kept himself occupied to the end, partly with practical work and partly with writing, his mind began to turn back on his past career, and he was oppressed with a sense of failure and disappointment. The visions he had once had of the conversion of England and the return of its ancient glory were evidently nothing beyond fantastic dreams, destined never to be realised, and in spite of the thoroughness with which he had given himself to his own work, the result was not what he had hoped. In his "Remarks on Articles in the Rambler," published in 1850, he confesses to this frame of mind :—[2]

"I believe as regards architecture few men have been so unfortunate as myself. I have passed my life in thinking of fine things,, studying fine things, designing fine things, and realising very poor ones. I have never had the chance of producing a single fine ecclesiastical building, except my own church [at Ramsgate], where I was both paymaster and architect; but everything else, either for want of adequate

[1] Ferrey's *Recollections*, p. 127. [2] P. 11.

St. Augustine's, Ramsgate

Showing Pugin's house, "The Grange"

funds, from injudicious interference and control, or some other contingency is more or less a failure.

"In process of Canonisation" (he continues) "there is always a devil's advocate, and I am satisfied there is the same personage in the erection of every church, who contrives to mar the result. Sometimes he appears in the character of a furious Committee-man, sometimes as a prejudiced ecclesiastic, sometimes in the form of a liberal benefactor, sometimes as a screw; but there he is in some character or other, thrusting in his claw, and spoiling the job. St. George's was spoilt by the very instructions laid down by the Committee that it was to hold 3,000 people on the floor space at a limited price; in consequence height, proportion, everything was sacrificed to meet these conditions. Nottingham was spoilt by the style being restricted to lancet, a period well suited to a Cistercian Abbey in a secluded vale, but very unsuitable for the centre of a crowded town. If fine tracery windows, admitting a due proportion of light, had been introduced, it would have been a grand and satisfactory building; but this was impossible to obtain, and even the width of the lights was regulated, so there was nothing left but to make the best of it under the circumstances, and the result has been what might be expected, the church is too dark, and *I am blamed for it.*"

Once more he returned to the apathy of ecclesiastical rulers, especially in the matter of College Chapels, inasmuch as the future of the Gothic revival must depend on the training of the rising generation of priests and laymen. His Chapel at Ushaw had indeed been finished and opened in 1847; but that at St. Edmund's had, since the death of Dr. Griffiths, been allowed to remain unfinished for want of funds. Taking this as his theme, he wrote as follows:—[1]

"In respect of Collegiate Chapels we are still far in advance in England, but one great chapel very nearly completed still lingers on in an unfinished state, when a little effort might render it available for divine service, and in the meantime many students must quit the College without that true love of ecclesiastical art that is only imparted to the soul by a devout assistance at the functions of religion in these solemn edifices.

[1] *Rood Screens*, p. 117.

The mere inspection of them is nothing, it is when they become associated with the life of divine worship that they produce the full power and lift the soul in ecstasy. Let us hope and pray that not only in Colleges, but in all places set apart for the education of youth suitable chapels may be provided, so as to make the students love the beauty of God's house.

"I must confess" (he continues) "with every wish to preserve my charity, I am moved to indignation when I hear proposals for erecting great sheds to serve as Catholic churches, places resembling a depôt for railway goods, or the housings of a wharf. What treatment is this for the divine mysteries! What treatment for the poor, who are brought to worship God in a place little if any better than the Union or Market shambles themselves!"

The *Treatise on Rood Screens* was the last work of any importance which Pugin wrote, and one may almost see signs of the mental failure which was to put an end to his life within a twelvemonth of its appearance. The pictures which he drew of the ambonoclast of different kinds—the Calvinistic, the Pagan, the Revolutionary, and the Modern ambonoclast—are the works of a genius but hardly of a balanced mind. He treated the modern ambonoclast humorously enough:—[1]

"The principal characteristics of modern ambonoclasts may be summed up as follows: Great irritability at vertical lines, muntans of screens, or transverse beams and crosses; a perpetual habit of abusing the finest works of Catholic antiquity and art, and exulting in the admiration of everything debased and modern and trumpery; an inordinate propensity for candles and candlesticks, which they arrange in every possible variety; they require great excitement in the way of lively, jocular, and amatory tunes at divine service, and exhibit painful distress at the sound of solemn chanting or plain song; at divine service they require to sit facing the altar, and near the pulpit, and then if the edifice be somewhat like a fish-market, with a hot-water pipe at their feet, and a gas pipe in the vicinity, and a stove in the rear, they can realise a somewhat Italian atmosphere and revive some sparks of that devotion that the gloomy vaulting of Westminster and the odious pillars of a new rood screen had well-nigh deprived them of."

[1] P. 98.

In his picture of the Calvinist ambonoclast, however, he ends by giving vent to his feelings about what was going on around him. Beginning with his imagination of the Calvinist, he writes:—[1]

"It was late in the evening, or rather the early part of the night, that a number of persons, evidently of very varied ranks and conditions, were crowded into a back chamber in the habitation of a citizen notoriously disaffected to the ancient religion; they were listening with considerable earnestness of attention to the exhortations, or rather ravings, of a man of sour aspect, whose dress and gestures announced him as belonging to the class of unordained preachers called the New Gospellers. The subject of his discourse was the extirpation of idolatry; the triumphs of the Jewish people over the unbelieving nations was the principal source from whence he drew his denunciations. The texts referring to the destruction of the heathen idols he transferred to the ancient images of the church, and succeeded in rousing the passions of his hearers to the utmost frenzy. 'But why,' he exclaimed, do we waste time? Let us lay the axe to the root of the tree; the famous rood of St. Mary-at-Hill standeth hard by, to the shame and reproach of Christian men. Let us pluck it down and utterly deface it, so it perish and be seen no more.'"

He then describes how they obtained an entry into the church, in the dead of night, and continues:—

"The chancel was surrounded in impenetrable darkness. Against the gloomy background the rood and its attendant images stood out in red reflected light, but the Jews themselves that scoffed on Calvary's Mount were not more bitter in their scorn than the New Gospellers, who uttered loud shouts and cries as they beheld the object of their sacrilegious vengeance. The sound of hollow blows echoes through the church, the door is forced. Ascending footsteps are heard on the staircase; then the rebounding tread of heavy feet on the loft itself, torches appear, axes gleam, heavy blows fall thick; some cleave, some pierce, some shout, and with one great crash it totters and falls—images, cross, all lie a ruin on the ancient pavement. The work of destruction now proceeds. Some wrench the extended

[1] P. 79.

limbs from the sculptured cross; broken and dismembered, the sacred image of the Redeemer is dragged down the nave; while others deface and cleave the evangelistic symbols, tossing the fragments in wild derision; some curse, some spit, some foam, others exclaim 'into the fire with it!' and a glare of light striking through the Western window showed that the suggestion had been followed; it crackled in the garth, and now the mangled images are piled on the roaring mass, while furious cries 'away with it! destroy it utterly!' break through the stillness of the night, and scare the affrighted parishioners who behold this horrible spectacle from their gable residences.

"Nearly three hundred years have elapsed, and the rood was again raised in glory in this very city, and the cry, 'Away with it!' was again heard. Came it from the blaspheming Jews? No. Came it from the bitter Calvinists? No. Came it from the incarnate fiends? No. It proceeded from a *modern Catholic ambonoclast!!!*"

More than half a century has elapsed since Pugin wrote these words, but the subject of them still remains a matter of controversy. Many screens have been built in the interval, and almost as many have been pulled down. Indeed, one of the strongest arguments against putting up a screen at all is that experience shows that sooner or later some one will pull it down; and when that occurs, all the old ill-feeling between screenites and anti-screenites will be stirred up anew. At the present day, in this country a screen is the exception—almost the rare exception. Some of Pugin's best ones have gone many years ago. Even the screen at St. Chad's at Birmingham, which may be considered the very stronghold of Gothic architecture, has been modified and made more open. For one church with a screen we can find fifty or a hundred without. The average man is ruled by the surroundings to which he has been accustomed, and hence to-day the screenites form a small minority; but they make up in zeal for their cause for the paucity of their numbers.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CARDINAL WISEMAN'S PASTORAL FROM THE FLAMINIAN GATE.

On the death of Bishop Walsh in February, 1849, Dr. Wiseman succeeded as Vicar Apostolic, and for the first time he found himself in a permanent position of unfettered authority over a diocese. He at once began to form schemes for the government of his district. He established regular conferences with his clergy at fixed intervals, at which he discussed diocesan affairs. At a conference on June 12, 1849, he announced his intention of organising a system of administration. At a similar conference on November 27 he announced as a first step the formation of a Council, to meet once a week at his house, to consist of nine of the senior priests of the diocese. On January 1, 1850, the whole system was formally inaugurated and an elaborate set of Statutes was promulgated. From these it appeared that there were eventually to be three Councils, the Weekly Board for current business, the Council of Temporal Administration, and the Council of Spiritual Administration.

It is not necessary to discuss this complicated scheme at any length, for it never came into full operation. A little more than a year after Dr. Walsh's death the Cardinals had reassembled in Rome, ready to give their consideration to English affairs; and almost immediately Dr. Wiseman received a letter from Cardinal Antonelli informing him that he was to be raised to the purple. The announcement came on him like a thunder-bolt. As Dr. Ullathorne points out, no instance had ever occurred of a Vicar Apostolic being a Cardinal; and as the announcement made no mention of any restoration of the Hierarchy, it could only have one meaning—that he would have to leave England for good and reside in Rome as a member of the Curia. However great and important the dignity and work which was thus held out in prospect, it meant

to Wiseman himself a break for the rest of his life with all his hopes and aspirations, and with the work in England to which he was devoted. Moreover, strict secrecy was enjoined for the time, so that he was unable to pour out his mind to those whom he would have wished to consult.

Gradually, however, the news leaked out, till it became so generally known that further concealment was impossible. In answer to Dr. Ullathorne's inquiries, Wiseman wrote as follows:—[1]

"The rumour is now so public here—how it got out I know not—that I feel almost justified in acknowledging its truth. To those who speak to me I am obliged to content myself with not denying it; and I have written to Rome to say the matter is as good as public. This being the case, I can assure your Lordship that I have been in a state of unnatural constraint, from not being able to write to my brethren on a matter on which naturally I should have wished to consult with them. I have written to Rome as much as one may write of himself, but in vain; and I fear my total separation from England in about a month is decided. What I have felt, and what I feel, is known to God alone. I dare not act in any way that would oppose His holy rule; but to leave the work that is going on now here is to me the heaviest trial that has ever befallen me."

Dr. Ullathorne proceeds:—

"On receiving this letter, I wrote to express, and with earnestness, my conviction that it was of great importance he should be with us in England to guide us through the early steps of the Hierarchy, and that it required a leader of his breadth of character as well to lead our ecclesiastical literature as for many other things. To this the Cardinal replied that he had received a letter in which the Pope had intimated that he should provide a successor to him in London, and that in a fortnight's time he should quit these shores for ever."

If rumour was correct, the successor to Dr. Wiseman in London contemplated by the Pope was Bishop Briggs, or some said Dr. Gillis, the Scotch Vicar Apostolic. Neither rumour, however, was generally credited; and although the fact of the approaching Cardinalate was known, when Dr. Wiseman left England on August 16, the majority of Catholics

[1] *Hierarchy*, p. 76.

felt little apprehension but that they would see him back at no distant date.

Those who were better informed, however, were full of anxiety, and steps were taken to bring their feelings before the Roman authorities. The negotiations for the Hierarchy had just recently been renewed. There had been some delay, as Mgr. Vespasiani—who had succeeded Mgr. Palma, after the latter's tragic death, as Under-Secretary of Propaganda for English-speaking nations—had been absent on a mission to Malta, and the question was put off until his return—most providentially, as the sequel proved.

Propaganda was now face to face with the duty of recommending a candidate to the Archiepiscopate of the new Hierarchy. The forces at work against the appointment of Dr. Wiseman have been detailed in a previous chapter. The compromise which had been determined upon in order to meet at least some of the objections raised had been to appoint Dr. Walsh, with Wiseman as his Coadjutor. This had now become impossible by the death of the former, and evidently this difficulty had been considered insurmountable, as we learn from the Pope's announcement to Wiseman. Hence the Congregation was now confronted with the problem of finding a suitable alternative.

It was just at this critical moment that the state of affairs became known to the English Bishops, and they made their views heard in Rome. At the request of Mgr. Barnabò, Dr. Ullathorne drew up a statement of the case in the form of a "ponenza" to be put before the Congregation of Cardinals. Others also wrote to Rome at the same time, one of the most influential petitions according to Dr. Grant coming from the Abbé Quiblier, a well-known Canadian Sulpician, who happened to be in London at the time.

The effect was immediate and decisive. Before Dr. Wiseman reached Rome, it had been practically determined that in some capacity or other he must return to England. "On my arrival," he wrote,[1] "I found the Pope and all the Cardinals and Propaganda of the same mind, that if possible and if compatible with the Cardinalitial dignity, I ought to return." In the same letter—written on September 13—he says that it was

[1] To Henry Bagshawe: see *Life of Wiseman*, i., p. 526.

by that time "more than probable" that the Hierarchy would be proclaimed before the Consistory was held. It of course followed that he was to be Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

There was now nothing to delay the promulgation of the Hierarchy. The division of the dioceses as drawn out by Dr. Ullathorne two years before was adhered to, with the sole exception of the Lancashire see, which in response to the petition of the clergy was divided into two. During the interval which had elapsed since the previous discussion of the arrangements the Bishops had sent in their views as to the titles of their sees, as they had been requested to do. The results varied somewhat. Dr. Briggs and Dr. Hogarth both wished for titles of ancient Catholic episcopal sees, and the two Northern dioceses were accordingly named Hexham[1] and Beverley respectively. Dr. Brown of Wales asked for a second or subtitle of that kind, and his diocese became "Newport and Menevia". The others followed Dr. Ullathorne's recommendation, and took their titles from centres of population, in which the episcopal residence would be situated—Birmingham, Liverpool, Shrewsbury, Nottingham, Plymouth; but in two cases —Bristol and Manchester—as there were already Anglican Bishops using those titles, the new sees were taken from a district which was technically a different town, and so we get Clifton and Salford. In much the same manner the title of Southwark was given to the diocese south of the Thames. No new Bishops were created for the time being, the new dioceses being temporarily committed to the administration of the Bishops of the adjacent sees.[2] At the last Congregation for the discussion of the Hierarchy on September 21, these details were all confirmed, and "after a few days' hesitation on the part of two of their number, they were unanimous in asking his Holiness to issue the brief on September 29, 1850".[3]

On Michaelmas Day therefore the long-hoped-for brief was promulgated. It included an historical Introduction which had

[1] The addition of Newcastle to the title was not made until the year 1861.

[2] In the course of the following year the vacant sees were filled up. Dr. Grant became Bishop of Southwark, Dr. Turner of Salford, Dr. Brown (President of Sedgley Park School) of Shrewsbury; Dr. Hendren was translated to Nottingham; Dr. Burgess became Bishop of Clifton, and Dr. Errington Bishop of Plymouth.

[3] Letter of Dr. Grant, quoted by Ullathorne, p. 78.

been prepared by Mgr. Palma, in collaboration with Dr. Grant more than two years before; the body of the document was the work of Mgr. Vespasiani.[1] The sequence of the important events which took place during the next few days can be given from Cardinal Wiseman's celebrated pastoral "from out of the Flaminian Gate,"[2] dated October 7, by which he formally announced to the Catholics of London the restoration of the Hierarchy:—

"On the twenty-ninth day of last month, on the feast of the Archangel St. Michael, Prince of the Heavenly Host, his Holiness Pope Pius IX. was graciously pleased to issue his Letters Apostolic, under the Fisherman's Ring, conceived in terms of great weight and dignity, wherein he substituted for the eight Apostolic Vicariates heretofore existing, one Archiepiscopal or Metropolitan, and twelve Episcopal Sees, repealing at the same time and annulling all dispositions and enactments made for England by the Holy See with reference to its late form of Ecclesiastical government.

"And by a brief dated the same day, his Holiness was further pleased to appoint us, though most unworthy, to the Archiepiscopal See of Westminster, established by the above mentioned Letters Apostolic, giving us at the same time the administration of the Episcopal See of Southwark; so that at present and till such time as the Holy See shall think fit otherwise to provide, we govern and shall continue to govern the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex as Ordinary thereof, and those of Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Berkshire, and Hampshire with the Islands annexed, as Administrator with Ordinary jurisdiction.

"Further we have to announce to you dearly beloved in Christ, that as if still further to add solemnity and honour before the Church, to this noble act of Apostolic authority, and to give an additional mark of paternal benevolence towards the Catholics of England, his Holiness was pleased to

[1] The full text of this document is given in Mazière Brady's *Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy*, p. 358.

[2] The pastoral will be found in full in Appendix M. The fact that it was dated from out of the Flaminian Gate was due to it being a breach of etiquette for a Bishop to send a pastoral from Rome, the see of the Pope. Hence it is usual to date a pastoral from outside the city, and the Flaminian Gate, better known to the modern visitor as the Porta del Popolo, is the one through which a traveller to England would naturally pass out.

raise us, in the private Consistory of Monday the 30th of September to the rank of Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church. And on the Thursday next ensuing, being the third day of this month of October, in public Consistory he delivered to us the insignia of this dignity, the Cardinalitial Hat; assigning us afterwards for our title, in the private Consistory which we attended, the Church of St. Pudenziana in which St. Peter is groundedly believed to have enjoyed the hospitality of the noble and partly British family of the Senator Pudens.

"In that same Consistory we were enabled ourselves to ask for the Archiepiscopal Pallium for our new see of Westminster; and this day we have been invested by the hands of the Supreme Pastor and Pontiff himself with this badge of Metropolitan jurisdiction.

"The great work then is complete; what you have long desired and prayed for is granted. Your beloved country has received a place among the fair Churches which, normally constituted, form the splendid aggregate of Catholic Communion: Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the Ecclesiastical firmament, from which its light had long vanished, and begins now anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigour. How wonderfully all this has been brought about—how clearly the Hand of God has been shown at every step, we have not now leisure to relate, but we may hope soon to recount to you by word of mouth."

Before leaving Rome Cardinal Wiseman headed a deputation, consisting of the British residents in the Eternal City, including Dr. Grant, and the students of the English College, to thank his Holiness for the restoration of the Hierarchy. The few words uttered by the Pope on the occasion are worth recording, containing as they do more than one important statement. The following summary was given in the *Rambler*:—[1]

"I had not intended sending the new Cardinal back to England; I had thought on retaining him near my own person, and of profiting by his counsels. But I perceived that

[1] November, 1850, p. 461. The summary is translated from the *Univers* where it had been given from memory by one who was present. The date of the deputation was October 6.

the proper moment was come for executing the great enterprise for which you have come to return me thanks. I do not think there will be anything to apprehend in consequence. I spoke of it at the time to Lord Minto, and I understood that the English Government would not oppose the execution of my design. I send back therefore to England the eminent Cardinal, and I invite you all to pray unceasingly, that the Lord will remove all difficulties, and that He will lead into the Church a million—three millions of your fellow-countrymen still separated from us, to the end that He may cause them all to enter, even to the last man."

In his reply, Cardinal Wiseman said, with curious confidence, that there was nothing at all to be feared from the English Government, showing how little he realised the effect which his own pastoral, which he was about to send, would have in England.

On Sunday, October 13, that pastoral was read in all the London churches, announcing that the days of the Vicars Apostolic had passed away and a new era had begun. In every church, as directed, a solemn service of thanksgiving was held.

This pastoral, which records the realisation of Wiseman's life-long hopes, and the zenith of his fame, is nevertheless admitted to have been the greatest practical mistake he ever made. The Vicars Apostolic had at their meetings ever insisted upon the necessity of any change being carried out with the utmost quietness, and avoidance of all ostentation; and twenty years afterwards Dr. Ullathorne expressed his most definite opinion[1] that "if it could have been quietly promulgated amongst ourselves at that period, we should have settled down in peace". This opinion was shared by all the old Catholics of the day, and they had frequently expressed their warnings in this sense. Yet when the time came, Cardinal Wiseman was so carried away by the fervour of the moment that he let all these warnings go unheeded, and sounded that note of triumph which was so sadly mistaken by the Protestants of England as though it were the proclamation of a true Papal Aggression.

The ferment which followed throughout the length and

[1] *Hierarchy*, p. 74.

breadth of the land has been vividly described elsewhere,[1] and it is not proposed to repeat the description here. But it is worth while to emphasise how it brought out a side of Cardinal Wiseman's character, of the strength of which his greatest friends were unaware. Newman wrote to Sir George Bowyer in the middle of the agitation, expressing his admiration of the manner in which the Cardinal was coping with the situation :—

"He is made for this world," Newman wrote,[2] "and he rises with the occasion. Highly as I put his gifts, I was not prepared for such a display of vigour, power, judgment, and sustained energy as the last two months have brought. I heard a dear friend of his say that the news of the opposition would kill him. How he has been out! It is the event of the time. In my own remembrance there has been nothing like it."

Perhaps then we may be bold enough to exclaim *O felix culpa*, but for which we should never have had the *Appeal to the English People*, nor the St. George's Lectures, nor the sight of the Cardinal standing up before the whole British nation with the calm confidence which comes from the consciousness of a good cause; nor that wonderful scene which we witnessed fifteen years later when public opinion had so changed that all the people of London seemed to vie with each other to manifest their tribute of respect as his funeral passed through their midst. The story of this, however, belongs to a later epoch than that with which we are concerned here.

The nature of the reception of the Hierarchy by the English Catholics is not very easy to estimate, inasmuch as the whole of their contemporary literature is directed to meeting the ferment on the part of the Protestants. Two prominent men among their number—Lord Beaumont and the Duke of Norfolk—boldly sided with their opponents; but it does not appear that they had any following. The few Catholics who regretted the measure were actuated only by the fear that it might revive penal legislation. From what they wrote afterwards, it seems clear that the great majority welcomed the new order of things, not so much as a matter of sentiment,

[1] *Life of Wiseman*, Chapter xviii. [2] *Ibid.*, i., p. 534.

but viewed by its practical results. "The more instructed of our laity," writes Bishop Ullathorne,[1] "who had long been solicitous to witness the establishment of local Bishops and canonical organisation, found all their hopes realised in the greater order, vigour, and efficiency of the Church."

To the converts the restoration of the Hierarchy meant even more. They had not been brought up in traditions of Penal Laws or shunning of all outward display of their religion in the way the hereditary Catholics had, and the lack of ecclesiastical organisation appealed to them the more in consequence. The creation of such organisation appeared to them therefore, to use Newman's phrase, as "the Resurrection of the Church". This was indeed the commonly accepted view in the country: the "Papal Aggression" was popularly understood to mean the parcelling out of England into districts or dioceses, each to be governed by a Catholic Bishop. It is reported that when Queen Victoria read Cardinal Wiseman's pastoral, and got to the words, "We govern and shall continue to govern the counties of Middlesex, etc.," she exclaimed, "Am I Queen of England or am I not?" The fact that England had already been for more than a century and a half parcelled out into Catholic dioceses under another name, and each been governed by a Catholic Bishop was not realised, and indeed often not known. Even Cardinal Wiseman, in his *Appeal to the English People*, although mentioning the Vicars Apostolic, did not make any great point of this obvious line of argument, viz. that the establishment of the Hierarchy was only putting into formal shape what had already been done informally for many years. It is true that the territorial titles of the Bishops appealed more to the imagination than the Asiatic sees from which they had previously taken their titles; but in point of fact, they had never been known to Catholics by their Asiatic titles, but always by their vicariates: Dr. Wiseman was far better known as Vicar Apostolic of the London District than as Bishop of Melipotamus. Moreover, in some instances, on the creation of the Hierarchy, the change from point of view of the sound of the title was in the opposite direction. Thus, for example, when Bishop Briggs having been Vicar Apostolic of the Yorkshire District, became instead, Bishop of Beverley, his

[1] *Hierarchy*, p. 110.

former title sounded more territorial of the two. It is probable that Lingard's forecast was in truth verified, that it was the title of Westminster which was the chief rock of offence. The idea of a Catholic body being styled the Chapter of Westminster, and a Catholic Bishop taking his title from a name so closely bound up with the Anglican Church and English history generally appealed to the imagination as an aggression, and the force of sentiment is one that can never be neglected. To the converts, however, such sentiment did not appeal: their predominant idea was that they had joined the Church at a time when there was no proper or at least no formal organisation, such as they had been accustomed to in the Anglican Church, and that now the want had been supplied. We can understand their viewing it as a Resurrection. Even Cardinal Manning, who was of course theoretically aware of the previous existence of the vicariates, writes almost as if they had never been. Speaking of the first Provincial Synod of the restored Hierarchy, he says:[1] "After three hundred years, not of suspended animation only, but of organic dissolution, the Church in England was once more knit together in the perfect symmetry of its Divine structure. All at once, as if by a resurrection, all its vital operations resumed their activity. Those who were present at the first Provincial Council of Westminster will never forget the sense of restored life which pervaded the Hierarchy and members of that Synod." And he quotes his own words, from the sermon which he delivered on that occasion: "The Church in England in Synod takes up its work again after a silence of three hundred years.[2] It reopens its proceedings with a familiarity as prompt, and a readi-

[1] *Pastoral Office*, p. 221.

[2] It was of course strictly true that there had been no formal Synods for three hundred years, such being impossible without a Hierarchy; but there had been Episcopal meetings, which in popular language were often styled Synods. Milner always spoke of them by that name. And it is instructive to notice that although the holding of formal Synods had always been put forward as one of the chief objects of restoring the Hierarchy (see, for example, Ullathorne, p. 4), in modern times the Bishops have found the informal meetings better suited to their purpose. Four Provincial Synods were held, to draw up the necessary legislation for the new state of affairs; but for the last forty years none have been held, and the work has been done at the annual Low Week meetings and other special meetings of Bishops, exactly as it was done in the days of the Vicars Apostolic. Since the recent division of the country into three Provinces, none of them have held Synods.

ness as calm, as if it resumed to-day the deliberations of last night. Though centuries of time have rolled away since it sat in council, the last Synod in England is but as the session of yesterday to the session of to-morrow."

A few, both of converts and old Catholics, joined with Pugin in being raised to enthusiasm at the prospect of the restoration of some of the ancient ritual and pageantry. Pugin issued an "Earnest Address" on the subject, and set on foot a subscription for the proper maintenance of the Bishops in a state suitable to their new dignity. His Address was much canvassed on account of his thesis that the destruction of Catholic worship had not been due primarily to Protestants, but was the outcome of State control. His new attitude towards the Established Church aroused suspicion. He defended himself in the *Tablet;* but the matter was not brought to an issue, as his mind was already giving way. For a time he had to be placed under restraint;[1] but afterwards he returned to his home at Ramsgate, where he died on September 14, 1852.

Among the clergy the restoration of the Hierarchy was received with mixed feelings, not because of what it did, but because of what it did not do. No immediate change was made in the status of the inferior clergy, who remained missionaries removable at the will of the Bishop. Rome had indeed commissioned the English Bishops to take this matter into consideration as their first act. They met for the purpose in November, 1851—the year's delay having been due to the excited state of the country, which required all their attention to deal with—and a number of determinations were come to, which were embodied in permanent legislation in the following year at the first Provincial Synod. The conclusion they arrived at, however, was that only a few of the more firmly established town missions could be considered as quasi-parishes, and while the head priests of these were given certain privileges under the title of "Missionary Rectors," the bulk of the clergy were left in their former position. This was not what they had hoped for, and men like Daniel Rock and Mark Tierney,

[1] The fact that the great Gothic architect lost his reason has often been quoted against his views and system of architecture. It seems only fair therefore to point out that more than one of his chief opponents ended their lives in similar fashion, having first lost their reason.

or the members of the Adelphi generally considered that the Hierarchy had not in fact been restored, since a Hierarchy is defined by the Council of Trent to consist of three parts—Bishops, Priests, and Ministers. They petitioned Rome during the next few years, but without result; and a sense of disappointment came over the clergy which lasted for many years, even if it is yet quite extinct.

The Catholic celebration of the restored Hierarchy may be considered to have been held at the first Provincial Synod, which was really a National Synod, held at Oscott in July, 1852.[1] All the Bishops were there, save two who were prevented from coming by illness; there were representatives from all the newly erected diocesan Chapters;[2] the religious orders each sent a representative; and there were the nominated "theologians" of the Synod. At the opening on Wednesday, July 7, Cardinal Wiseman sang Mass and preached. On the following Sunday, Dr. Ullathorne, as the local Ordinary, sang Mass, and the sermon was preached by the Rev. Henry Edward Manning, who had been a Catholic more than a year and was already a priest. On the following Tuesday, before the opening of the second session, Dr. Briggs, as senior Bishop, sang Mass, and it was on this occasion that Newman preached his celebrated sermon on the Second Spring. The scene in the College Chapel on these occasions was such as had not been witnessed since England was Catholic. We are told that during Newman's sermon there was a profound silence, broken only by the voice of the preacher, and the suppressed sobbing of Cardinal Wiseman, who was quite overcome. So

[1] For a list of those who attended it, see Appendix N.

[2] The old Chapter of the Vicars Apostolic, the status of which had long been a matter of doubt, ceased to claim any powers from the time when the diocesan Chapters were established; but being unwilling to dissolve, they re-constituted themselves first as the "Old Chapter Trust," and then as the "Old Brotherhood of the Secular Clergy," under which title they still exist to-day. They meet twice a year, and distribute their funds in various charities. The members are chosen by co-option as vacancies occur by death, and the distribution of members is still made according to the old four vicariates, and without reference to the modern dioceses. The London District has eleven members, the Midland five, the Northern six, and the Western two. Thus the Brotherhood forms a veritable link with the days of the Vicars Apostolic, and even with the earliest of them, for it was first established by Dr. Bishop in 1623. The present writer has the honour to be a member of the Brotherhood.

See the *Dawn of the Catholic Revival*, i., p. 31.

Unfinished Painting of the First Provincial C

(*For K*

. OF WESTMINSTER HELD AT OSCOTT IN JULY, 1852

p. 311)

also were the other Bishops and clergy who were present to whom the ceremony denoted so much, nearly all of whom, according to Dr. Ullathorne, shed tears of joy.

The essential effect of this Synod and its successors was to supersede the *Apostolicum Ministerium* of Benedict XIV. by which the English mission had been regulated during the days of the Vicars Apostolic by a body of legislation drawn out not in Rome but in England. "For the first time since our overthrow at the Reformation," writes Bishop Ullathorne,[1] "were the clergy united with their Bishops in the settlement of what regarded their common interests. For three hundred years had our local religious affairs been regulated, not in this country, or by those immediately concerned in them, but from a distance, and by the Holy See. For hitherto the Catholics of England had been subject to the Pope not only as Sovereign Pontiff, but as our immediate and sole Pastor, governing our spiritual affairs through his vicars. But now we possessed the formal right and common privilege of providing for our own ecclesiastical rule and regulation, subject to such revision only by the Holy See as might secure our acts from being contrary in any point to the common law of the Church."

"The wisdom of retaining Cardinal Wiseman in England," he adds, "was never rendered more conspicuous than as exhibited in this first Provincial Council; and it may be safely said that his Presidency over the assembled Fathers, and the decrees that emanated from the Council were his masterpiece."

With the passing away of the Vicars Apostolic we bring to a close this study of the times of the later ones before and after Emancipation. The epoch which began with Catholics just recovering from the violent riots of 1780, ends with their being faced by a storm of less physical violence—for the actual riots at the time of the so-called Papal Aggression did not get beyond a few demonstrations in different parts of the country on Guy Fawkes Day—but of an outburst of passion and ill-feeling far more general and bitter, throughout the length and breadth of the country. This outburst, based, as was pointed out, on a total misconception of the nature of the Pope's act, has long passed into the domain of history, and we are able now to survey the situation in all calmness.

[1] *Hierarchy*, p. 107.

Cardinal Wiseman spoke of the Hierarchy in his Flaminian pastoral as "the realisation of long cherished hopes, and the opening out of new and bright prospects". Of these prospects, how far fulfilled and how far leading to disappointments, others have told from many and various points of view. New and unlooked-for developments have taken place; the expected has failed and the unexpected has happened in numerous cases. The finger of God has been no less manifest since the establishment of the Hierarchy than it was, as Dr. Wiseman testified, throughout the negotiations which preceded it. The great fabric of the Catholic Church in England to-day, worthily typified by Cardinal Vaughan's imposing Cathedral at Westminster, has been reared on the foundations laid by Cardinal Wiseman and recorded by him in his Flaminian pastoral; but none of these hopes could ever have been realised but for the solid foundation of the long and patient work of the Vicars Apostolic. It has been the aim of these volumes to trace their labours, to make some estimate of the forces against which they had to contend, both from within and from without, to see in what manner, by God's help, their work led on to a finally successful result, and so to offer a small tribute of recognition to a body of men who had, partly in consequence of the brilliancy of some who succeeded them in the early days of the Hierarchy, been to a great extent forgotten.

The last Vicars Apostolic lived on, some of them for many years, as Ordinaries of the new dioceses. The aged Bishop Briggs, the sole surviving link with the four Districts into which ecclesiastical England was divided for a century and a half, continued his ministrations for another ten years, and only resigned two months before he died. Bishop Hendren was translated to Nottingham, and retired after a year and a half. Dr. Brown of the Lancashire District was Bishop of Liverpool for six years; Dr. Wareing of the Eastern District ruled the diocese of Northampton for eight years; and Dr. Hogarth worked on as Bishop of Hexham for sixteen years. But the two Benedictine Vicars Apostolic—Dr. Ullathorne of the Central District and Dr. Brown of the Welsh District—outlived the others by a long period. Dr. Brown continued as Bishop of Newport until 1880, when he died, having already appointed as his Auxiliary Dr. Hedley, who suc-

ceeded him, and lived to be the senior Bishop of the English Hierarchy. Finally, the last survivor of them all was the venerable Bishop Ullathorne, who after ruling the diocese of Birmingham for close on forty years, died at St. Mary's College, Oscott, on the feast of St. Benedict, March 21, 1889, in presence of all the priests of the house, including amongst others the present writer. The scene of that death-bed remains indelibly impressed on the mind. Only a short time before the end came, the dying Bishop called our attention to the fact that with him would pass away the last representative of the Vicars Apostolic of England. Those who knew him, still more those who lived in the same house with him, and enjoyed the privilege of his friendship, will unhesitatingly agree that his solid and unostentatious piety was of the type most characteristic of the best among his predecessors. "The Nestor of the English Bishops," as Cardinal Manning once styled him. The tribute was deserved. By virtue of his work, his attainments, and his character it may be justly said that he brought to a truly worthy close a great and venerable line.

APPENDIX TO VOLUME II.

APPENDIX L.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ACT.

(1) Memorial to the Pope voted at the meeting at Freemasons' Hall on March 20, 1848.

To His Holiness Pope Pius IX., Supreme Pontiff, the Memorial of the Undersigned Catholic Ecclesiastics and Laymen of Great Britain, most Humbly Sheweth, that—

The Memorialists approach the feet of your Holiness with the most unbounded confidence and reverence, to lay before your Holiness their hopes and fears in respect of a certain proposed law now under discussion by the British Legislature, entitled, "An Act for enabling her Majesty to establish and maintain Diplomatic Relations with the Court of Rome".

The Memorialists are of opinion that in itself there can be no reasonable objection to the enacting of such a law in all countries where a necessity for it exists; and they do therefore beg most humbly to congratulate your Holiness on what they learn from the public journals and from other sources, of the establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the Holy See and the United States of America; because in that arrangement, so far as your Memorialists are informed, there appears to have been no other wish on the part of the United States than to establish a friendly and useful intercourse on temporal matters, leaving untouched those mighty ecclesiastical affairs over which your Holiness so admirably presides, as the Vicar of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, with the great love and honour of all the Faithful in every nation of the world.

The Memorialists wish they could also congratulate your Holiness upon the like intentions being manifested by the Government and leading members of the Legislature of this country; but they bitterly regret to have to inform your Holiness that no such wise and just spirit appears to animate them, and that indeed they make no secret of being animated by intentions the most opposite, and, if they

could be carried out, the most fatal to the honour and well-being of the Church throughout the British Empire.

The expressions of opinion to which they refer have not been picked up in private conversation, and are not casual and thoughtless phrases, to which no weight is given by prudent and calm-judging men; but are the public speeches of legislators of all shades of opinion, Ministers and members of the Opposition, fanatics and men without bigotry, Protestants and, they blush to say it, Catholics —put on record in the public journals and expressing in various forms their notorious sentiments. Only a few of these opinions, taken from the public journals, the Memorialists beg leave most respectfully to lay before your Holiness.

On the 14th of last December, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the President of the Council, one of the highest members in the Government, and the one to whom the conduct of this bill in the House of Lords has been entrusted, declared that one great advantage which he anticipated from a renewal of diplomatic intercourse with the Holy See was that it would enable the British Government "*to induce that Court*" (Rome) "*to use its peculiar sources of influence*" (its spiritual authority) "*in certain parts of her Majesty's dominions;*" that is, in Ireland, to help the existing Ministers to carry out certain designs, which, whatever may be their merit or demerit in a political point of view, have no connection with the doctrines of the Catholic Church.

On the 17th February, 1848, Lord Stanley, who has long been one of her Majesty's Secretaries of State, but not a member of the existing Government, spoke with the greatest frankness of the intention of this measure. His words are thus reported in the *Morning Chronicle* of the next day:—

"You know that the Pope has influence over your Roman Catholic subjects; and you seek to obtain an influence over the Pope, in order to prevent his interference with your Roman Catholic subjects being carried on in a mode offensive to you. (Hear, hear.) Now, that is, in plain English, the object of this bill."

Two members of the present Government spoke in the debate after Lord Stanley, and by their silence admitted the correctness of this statement. A few sentences further on Lord Stanley explains the kind of acts on the part of the Holy See which would be deemed offensive to the English Government, and the kind of influence they would use to control its spiritual authority. He states it to be the intention of the Government that the Ambassador shall "*advise with the Pope in reference to the instructions he may give*" to his spiritual subjects; and then he cites as an instance the Rescript issued by the Holy See some months ago in condemnation of the Irish Colleges. "I look" (he says) "upon that Rescript as a most unfortunate interfer-

ence on the part of the Papal See. (Hear, hear.) I think it was ill-judged. I think if you had had relations with the Court of Rome you might have succeeded, possibly, in preventing the issue of those recommendations; but I think it is much more likely that, in spite of you it would have been issued; and I say, then, that *that would have been an act offensive to your Government, and the Secretary of State would have found it extremely difficult to have abstained from withdrawing his Minister from that Court;* and if that is likely to be so in the very first instance in which the Pope sets your recommendation at defiance, I ask if the result will not be infinitely more prejudicial to the good understanding between the Court of Rome and this country than if there were no diplomatic relations whatever?"

This statement by a late Cabinet Minister, that a Rescript intended to guard the souls of the faithful subjects of your Holiness from heresy and evil, if an English Ambassador be stationed at Rome, will probably be treated as an hostile act on the part of the Roman Court, to be put down by the use of every temporal influence short of war, was also silently admitted to be a true description of the practices intended to be introduced under the new law.

On February 28 Lord Aberdeen, who has been for so many years the Foreign Secretary of this country, who is very likely to be so again, and who is known to be an extremely cautious and deliberate speaker, put the same construction on the Bill as Lord Stanley. His words are thus reported in the *Morning Chronicle*:—

"When the late Government had in contemplation the establishment of the Irish Colleges, what would have been done had we had a Minister at the Court of Rome? *If that Court had protested against the measure he would have been very much disposed to advise her Majesty to withdraw her Minister on the ground of such an interference being unwarrantable.* But they had found no difficulties on that occasion. The predecessor of this liberal Pope, illiberal as he was, sanctioned the Colleges, and it was not until the accession of his successor that any difficulty was experienced in that quarter."

On February 18 Lord Beaumont, a Catholic nobleman, thus spoke in the House of Lords:—

"They had lately had the mortification of seeing a Papal Rescript in circulation in Ireland condemning that measure from which the liberal minded in England had anticipated so much good for the institution of Catholic Colleges in the sister country. There could be no doubt that the Pope had acted in that instance upon false and incorrect information as to the real aim and object of the measure, and there could be as little doubt that had we an Ambassador at Rome from whom a true knowledge of the facts could have been procured, that Rescript would have never been issued. (Hear, hear.)

It was to be hoped that when satisfactory relations were established between the Queen and the Pope, such Rescripts of a similar tendency would cease to be issued, and *that his Holiness would at once be convinced that henceforth no such intermeddling in our own proper Government would be permitted.* (Hear, hear.) A noble earl had ventured to say, that one of the benefits which might result from the proposed bill would be the power we would have of governing and conciliating Catholic subjects in Ireland through and by the instrumentality of the spiritual influence of the Pope. *Now, if there was one thing against which above all others it behoved them to guard, it was to see Rome govern Ireland.* (Cheers.)"

The Memorialists cannot but believe that these expressions of deep distrust of the spiritual influence of Rome in Ireland, and fixed resolution to fetter the spiritual liberty of Rome with regard to Irish affairs, would never have been addressed by a Catholic nobleman to an assembly of Protestants unless he entertained a deep conviction that such opinions were shared and approved by his audience. They cannot, moreover, fail to observe how from this evidence it appears that the Catholic carries his hostility to Roman influence even further than the Protestant Peers. They, indeed, are willing to sanction that influence in the hope of being able to use it for their own purposes—while he, more hostile, desires to exclude it altogether, and warns them against the impolicy of allowing the Holy See to raise its voice in behalf of Faith and Morals whenever these are endangered by the machinations of the Civil Power. These exaggerated sentiments were warmly received by the House of Lords; and so general are these opinions, that though the next speaker in the debate was a Catholic of known piety, he did not venture to utter one word in protest against the doctrines of his brother-Catholic, which in his heart he must have so profoundly abhorred.

The Memorialists have thus made known to your Holiness the very words used by members of the Legislature—words which leave no doubt that not merely the members of the Government but the whole class from which the Ministers of this country are taken, still entertain designs which at no distant period, and for a long course of years were openly avowed by the friends of Catholic emancipation—that of securing, through arrangements with Rome, a control over the Church in Ireland and through the Church a control over the politics of the Irish people.

These observations the Memorialists make on the design of the Bill as originally introduced.

Since the introduction of the bill the disrespect of the majority of one branch of the Legislature towards the Holy See has been rendered more clear by the changes they have introduced into it.

One of these is purely verbal. It refuses to your Holiness the title of "*Sovereign Pontiff*" and substitutes the purely lay appellation of "*Sovereign of the Roman States*"; thus at once insulting your Holiness by a denial of your spiritual character, and at the same time claiming a right to use temporal force to compel your Holiness to use your spiritual functions as the Cabinet of St. James's may choose to dictate. Another change, far more insulting, is the introduction of a clause forbidding your Holiness to appoint as Ambassador a Monk or Ecclesiastic. Both these insults have been supported by leading members of the House of Lords, and particularly by the Duke of Wellington, and the former of them was cordially approved and adopted by the members of the present Government.

Submitting to your Holiness these observations on the proposed Bill and the designs of its authors, the Memorialists beg most respectfully to assure your Holiness that for Catholicity in these kingdoms and in the Colonies nothing, in their humble opinion, is to be gained by concessions on the part of the Holy See. The English Government has it not in its power to grant favours to the Catholics in this country. The Church needs nothing for her prosperity but equal rights and just treatment. These the principle of the existing laws secures to us, and whatever in practice is wanting in point of equality and justice needs no other power to attain it than a little spirit, energy, and perseverance on the part of the Catholics themselves. Any concession, therefore, made by the Holy See to secure the favour of the English Government for either English or Irish Catholics would be altogether thrown away and could lead only to evil.

The Catholic subjects of the British Crown are proud of the independence of the Church within these realms; of their immediate spiritual connection with, and dependence on, the Holy See; of the absence of every pretence for interposition by the Civil Power between the humblest laymen and the Vicar of Jesus Christ. This entire independence makes Religion a popular sentiment. The commands of the Holy See are always received with profound respect, and are now obeyed with double alacrity because they are felt to be the genuine and unforced emanations of that spiritual authority to which all look up with such devoted and boundless affection. But if it were once known or strongly suspected that the English Government was allowed to interfere even with its advice in the spiritual affairs of the Church; if it could be supposed that decisions on Ecclesiastical matters were changed or modified by threats of withdrawing an Ambassador as a mark of displeasure; if it were popularly believed that decisions adopted or recommended by the local spiritual authorities were altered against the advice of those authorities in conformity with the suggestions of a Protestant Government—no

doubt whatever emanates from Rome would still as ever be obeyed and respected, but the Memorialists very much fear that the fervour and strength which Religion now derives from being a popular sentiment might be very much cooled and weakened.

These remarks, true of England as well as of Ireland, are more particularly true of this latter country. Some of the Memorialists being Irishmen, or connected with Ireland, have peculiar means of knowing the feelings of the people on this matter. They most respectfully assure your Holiness, that in Ireland the dislike to the renewal of diplomatic relations between Rome and England is almost universal amongst both Priests and people. The reason for this dislike is a knowledge that the English Government, which the people of Ireland abhor, will exert itself to "induce Rome to use its peculiar sources of influence" to further the designs of England. They have learned in books of high authority, published by the most devoted servants of the Holy See, that in times of difficulty at Rome, "in consultations on Ecclesiastical affairs, the fear of losing the temporal power has been admitted amongst the motives which present themselves to take or reject a resolution," and in former Pontificates has sometimes made the Holy See "lean to the side of a condescension" to which it would not have otherwise have been inclined. (Cardinal Pacca's *Letter to his Brother*, prefixed to his "Notes on the Ministry".) Of such "complete pusillanimous condescension," to use the phrase of the late most renowned Cardinal Pacca, the Memorialists entertain no apprehension so long as the Almighty preserves your Holiness to rule over his Church with high and heroic magnanimity. But—(may the day be far distant for the Church's sake)—when God in His mercy shall call your Holiness from this troubled scene to the bliss of the beatific vision, they fear much that what once has been, even under the true servant of God, Pope Pius VII., may be again under his successors.

The Memorialists are persuaded that nothing could be more fatal to the interests of religion in Ireland and to the influence of the Church over the people, than the belief generally entertained that Irish Ecclesiastical affairs were in any degree affected by English influence and exposed to the baneful effects of English intrigue.

On these accounts the Memorialists would most respectfully lay at the feet of your Holiness their earnest desire that your Holiness will refuse any exchange of Ambassadors except on terms of perfect equality and honour; that in the event of an exchange of Ambassadors, the English Government be expressly forbidden from the outset to offer any advice or suggestion to the Holy See, either on the subject of Ecclesiastical appointments, or on any matters connected with Ecclesiastical business; and that in case a Nuncio reside in London,

arrangements may be made for a complete separation of English and Irish Ecclesiastical business, so that no ground may be laid for the suspicion that Irish affairs pass to Rome through a medium subjected to the influence or guided by the prejudices of either English Protestants or English Catholics.

The Memorialists beg also to express the regret with which they have seen in the public newspapers that attempts have been made in Rome to influence the arrangements expected to follow the exchange of Ambassadors by pressing on the Holy See false statements regarding the Ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland, and the most incredible slanders against the Clergy of that country. They regret this the more because they see it stated that these shameful efforts have been confined, not to Protestant and Government agents, but to Catholics, whose authority, indeed, in this country is literally nothing, but who in Rome might be supposed to speak the sense of the English Catholics if a strong denial were not given to these unfounded pretensions. On this point, however, the Memorialists now feel the less concern because they have had the comfort to read lately in the newspapers some letters from the Archbishop of Cashel, from which it appears that not merely the Congregation of Propaganda, but your Holiness also, has expressed a thorough disbelief of these baseless inventions, and a very cordial, affectionate, and condescending goodwill towards that most persecuted portion of the Church of God.

In conclusion, the Memorialists beg most earnestly to assure your Holiness of their unalterable attachment to the See of Peter; of their deep sense of the duty which devolves upon them, to use every legal right given them by the Constitution of this country to frustrate the purposes of evil-minded Statesmen against the Church; and also of their fixed determination to treat as their worst enemies every British Minister who shall dare to profane the Holy See by insult, or intrigue, or threats, or any form of compulsion; or by endeavouring to employ spiritual authority for the accomplishment of factious or un-Catholic designs; and with the utmost humility we throw ourselves at the feet of your Holiness begging your Apostolical Benediction.

(2) Petition Organised by Dr. Wiseman.

Memorial to his Holiness Pius IX.

Most Holy Father,

At a moment when the entire world is shaken by extraordinary convulsions, which display the hand of God stretched forth in wonderful might (*Aspexit, et dissolvit Gentes, et contriti sunt montes sæculi*);

but when, at the same time, we turn to Him with full confidence that in all this He hath in view the greater glory and prosperity of His holy Church, and that He hath raised up your Holiness to guide it to its noblest destinies (*Egressus es in salutem populi Tui, in Salutem cum Christo Tuo*); we feel sorry that circumstances should compel us to prostrate ourselves at the sacred feet of your Holiness, and there to pour forth the expression of our filial attachment, admiration, and trust.

For even here we see the minds of Catholics agitated with doubts and fears, in consequence of the proposal on the part of our Government to open new relations between the Holy See and the British Crown, as though danger may thence ensue to the rights of the Church, or the purity of religion; and we consider it a duty, as others are doing so, to address your Holiness on this subject.

Our thoughts thereon are simple and sincere. While we could not but rejoice that the evil spirit of past hatred against the Vicar of Christ on earth had so far been extinguished, that it was publicly proposed, amidst almost universal applause, to cancel from the statutes a law derogatory to his exalted position, and sacred character; we did not fail to most bitterly deplore the ill-judged weakness, and concession to the remains of ancient bigotry, which led to a modification of the proposed law, and rendered the whole nugatory and insulting, by the clause forbidding an ecclesiastical nuncio from coming to England, as well as by the introduction of other offensive expressions.

We still trust, however, to the good sense of the nation, to the justice of parliament, and to our own vigorous exertions, for seeing these obstacles removed, and that liberty of action over the entire Christian world, which belongs to your Holiness, in virtue of your sublime dignity, restored and secured to you in this empire.

Beyond this we do not presume to go. In what mode, to what extent, or if at all, this power shall be exercised, it belongs entirely to your Holiness to decide. You are the Master and Father, we the disciples and children; and it becomes us to learn and to obey, with docility and simplicity of heart. You are the Shepherd, we the sheep of your pasture; and it is for you to guide, and to feed us; for us to follow and to hearken to your voice. We are the faithful soldiers of the Church, ready to fight the battles of truth, with her peaceful weapons; you are our Leader and Chief, and from you we look for direction and command. We are the rowers of the Bark of Peter, willing to man it through storm and billow: you are the Pilot, who must grasp the helm, and steer its secure course; and your signal will direct the combined strokes of our oars, and thus alone give them power.

We know that should your Holiness desire counsel, you can command the ready services of the many bishops, distinguished for learning, prudence, experience and tried fidelity, in communion with your Apostolic See. We know that your supreme throne is surrounded by eminent men, the purpled princes of the Church; who, divided into different congregations, maturely discuss all matters of an ecclesiastical character, and lay before your Holiness's enlightened mind the result of their deliberations.

But still more we believe that your Holiness, invested with so sacred and sublime a dignity as that of Ruler of the Universal Church, possesses in a proportionate degree the grace and light necessary for discharging its duties. You are Peter, the Rock on the solidity of which the Church is built, and we fear not that the powers of hell, or still less the violence of the world, shall prevail ever to shake it. You are the Vicar of Christ Jesus, who is with you always, teaching through you. We have the security of His unerring word that the evil one shall never sift you as wheat, but that your office shall ever be to confirm your brethren, not to be by them confirmed.

We believe that to you is given the fullest share of the Spirit of wisdom and of knowledge, of counsel and of fortitude, far beyond what belongs to us collectively. That Holy Spirit, who was seen ever at the ear of your glorious predecessor, the great St. Gregory, suggesting to him holy counsels, and amongst them doubtless the conversion of our nation, hovers, we sincerely hold, over your Holiness, and no less inspires, directs, and informs your wise and holy counsels. And while you are thus guided, we fear not that the subtleties or wiles of statesmen will deceive you, nor the frauds of covert enemies circumvent you.

In this moment, then, when some seem to apprehend these evils, and think it right to address words of caution to your Holiness, we, on our parts, sincerely, fully, and lovingly rely upon your wisdom, your virtues, your experience, and still more on the privileges of your Apostolic See, on the grace of your sublime office, on the unfailing promises of Christ, on the directing influences of the Holy Spirit, all which belong of right to you. In one only way can we presume to assist you; by daily pouring out, before the Throne of Grace, our fervent supplications, that God will long preserve to His Church the life and strength of your Holiness, and give you ever new vigour and grace, for carrying out your many generous and holy plans, for the welfare, both of your own subjects and of the entire Catholic Church.

If, beyond this, we can aught avail, if your Holiness should see that in the matter in question we can in any way promote the interests of our holy religion, we have only to intreat that you will

teach us, direct us, command our humble services, which we now cheerfully place at your Holiness's disposal. And sure we are that we shall prosper, if you deign to bestow on us, and upon our efforts, that plenitude of Apostolic benediction, which we, your Holiness's devoted children, earnestly implore.

APPENDIX M.

CARDINAL WISEMAN'S PASTORAL FROM THE FLAMINIAN GATE ANNOUNCING THE HIERARCHY.

NICHOLAS, by the Divine mercy, of the Holy Roman Church by the title of St. Pudentiana Cardinal Priest, Archbishop of Westminster, and Administrator Apostolic of the Diocese of Southwark:

To our dearly beloved in Christ, the Clergy secular and regular, and the Faithful of the said Archdiocese and Diocese:

Health and benediction in the Lord!—If this day we greet you under a new title, it is not, dearly beloved, with an altered affection. If in words we seem to divide those who till now have formed, under our rule, a single flock, our heart is as undivided as ever in your regard. For now truly do we feel closely bound to you by new and stronger ties of charity; now do we embrace you in our Lord Jesus Christ with more tender emotions of paternal love; now doth our soul yearn, and our mouth is open to you, though words must fail to express what we feel on being once again permitted to address you. For if our parting was in sorrow, and we durst not hope that we should again face to face behold you, our beloved flock, so much the greater is now our consolation and our joy, when we find ourselves not so much permitted as commissioned to return to you by the supreme ruler of the Church of Christ.

But how can we for one moment indulge in selfish feelings, when, through that loving Father's generous and wise counsels, the greatest of blessings has just been bestowed upon our country, by the restoration of its true Catholic hierarchical government, in communion with the see of Peter?

For on the twenty-ninth day of last month, on the Feast of the Archangel Saint Michael, prince of the heavenly host, his Holiness Pope Pius IX. was graciously pleased to issue his Letters Apostolic, under the Fisherman's Ring, conceived in terms of great weight and dignity, wherein he substituted for the eight Apostolic Vicariates heretofore existing, one archiepiscopal or metropolitan and twelve episcopal sees; repealing at the same time, and annulling,

all dispositions and enactments made for England by the Holy See with reference to its late form of ecclesiastical government.

And by a brief dated the same day his Holiness was further pleased to appoint us, though most unworthy, to the archiepiscopal see of Westminster, established by the above-mentioned Letters Apostolic, giving us at the same time the administration of the episcopal see of Southwark. So that at present, and till such time as the Holy See shall think fit otherwise to provide, we govern, and shall continue to govern, the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex as ordinary thereof, and those of Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Berkshire, and Hampshire, with the islands annexed, as administrator with ordinary jurisdiction.

Further, we have to announce to you, dearly beloved in Christ, that, as if still further to add solemnity and honour before the Church to this noble act of Apostolic authority, and to give an additional mark of paternal benevolence towards the Catholics of England, his Holiness was pleased to raise us, in the private consistory of Monday, the 30th of September, to the rank of Cardinal Priest of the holy Roman Church. And on the Thursday next ensuing, being the third day of this month of October, in public consistory, he delivered to us the insignia of this dignity, the cardinalitial hat; assigning us afterwards for our title in the private consistory which we attended, the Church of St. Pudentiana, in which St. Peter is groundedly believed to have enjoyed the hospitality of the noble and partly British family of the Senator Pudens.

In that same consistory we were enabled ourselves to ask for the archiepiscopal Pallium for our new see of Westminster; and this day we have been invested, by the hands of the Supreme Pastor and Pontiff himself, with this badge of metropolitan jurisdiction.

The great work, then, is complete; what you have long desired and prayed for is granted. Your beloved country has received a place among the fair Churches, which, normally constituted, form the splendid aggregate of Catholic Communion; Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament, from which its light had long vanished, and begins now anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light and of vigour. How wonderfully all this has been brought about, how clearly the hand of God has been shown in every step, we have not now leisure to relate, but we may hope soon to recount to you by word of mouth. In the meantime we will content ourselves with assuring you, that, if the concordant voice of those venerable and most eminent counsellors to whom the Holy See commits the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs in missionary countries, of the overruling of every variety of interests and designs, to the rendering

of this measure almost necessary; if the earnest prayers of our holy Pontiff and his most sacred oblation of the divine sacrifice, added to his own deep and earnest reflection, can form to the Catholic heart an earnest of heavenly direction, an assurance that the Spirit of truth, who guides the Church, has here inspired its Supreme Head, we cannot desire stronger or more consoling evidence that this most important measure is from God, has His sanction and blessing, and will consequently prosper.

Then truly is this day to us a day of joy and exaltation of spirit, the crowning day of long hopes, and the opening day of bright prospects. How must the Saints of our country, whether Roman or British, Saxon or Norman, look down from their seats of bliss, with beaming glance, upon this new evidence of the faith and Church which led them to glory, sympathising with those who have faithfully adhered to them through centuries of ill repute for the truth's sake, and now reap the fruit of their patience and long-suffering. And all those blessed martyrs of these latter ages, who have fought the battles of the faith under such discouragement, who mourned, more than over their own fetters or their own pain, over the desolate ways of their own Sion, and the departure of England's religious glory; oh! how must they bless God, who hath again visited his people,—how take part in our joy, as they see the lamp of the temple again enkindled and rebrightening, as they behold the silver links of that chain which has connected their country with the see of Peter in its vicarial government changed into burnished gold; not stronger nor more closely knit, but more beautifully wrought and more brightly arrayed.

And in nothing will it be fairer or brighter than in this, that the glow of more fervent love will be upon it. Whatever our sincere attachment and unflinching devotion to the Holy see till now, there is a new ingredient cast into these feelings; a warmer gratitude, a tenderer affection, a profounder admiration, a boundless and endless sense of obligation, for so new, so great, so sublime a gift, will be added to past sentiments of loyalty and fidelity to the supreme see of Peter. Our venerable Pontiff has shown himself a true shepherd, a true father; and we cannot but express our gratitude to him in our most fervent language, in the language of prayer. For when we raise our voices, as is meet, in loud and fervent thanksgiving to the Almighty, for the precious gifts bestowed upon our portion of Christ's vineyard, we will also implore every choice blessing on him who has been so signally the divine instrument in procuring it. We will pray that his rule over the Church may be prolonged to many years, for its welfare; that health and strength may be preserved to him for

the discharge of his arduous duties; that light and grace may be granted to him proportioned to the sublimity of his office; and that consolations, temporal and spiritual, may be poured out upon him abundantly, in compensation for past sorrows and past ingratitude. And of these consolations may one of the most sweet to his paternal heart be the propagation of holy religion in our country, the advancement of his spiritual children there in true piety and devotion, and our ever-increasing affection and attachment to the see of St. Peter.

In order, therefore, that our thanksgiving may be made with all becoming solemnity, we hereby enjoin as follows:—

1. This our Pastoral Letter shall be publicly read in all the churches and chapels of the archdiocese of Westminster and the diocese of Southwark on the Sunday after its being received.

2. On the following Sunday there shall be in every such church or chapel a solemn Benediction of the blessed Sacrament, at which shall be sung the *Te Deum*, with the usual versicles and prayers, with the prayer also *Deus omnium Fidelium Pastor et Rector* for the Pope.

3. The collect, *Pro Gratiarum Actione*, or thanksgiving, and that for the Pope, shall be recited in the Mass of that day, and for two days following.

4. Where Benediction is never given, the *Te Deum*, with its prayers, shall be recited or sung after Mass, and the collects above-named shall be added as enjoined.

And at the same time, earnestly entreating for ourselves also a place in your fervent prayers, we lovingly implore for you, and bestow on you, the blessing of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Given out of the Flaminian Gate of Rome, this seventh day of October, in the year of our Lord MDCCCL.

(Signed) NICHOLAS,
Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

By command of his Eminence,
FRANCIS SEARLE, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX N.

FIRST PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF WESTMINSTER, HELD AT ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, OSCOTT, JULY 5-17, 1852.

List of those Present.

His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster.
Right Rev. John Briggs, Bishop of Beverley.
Right Rev. William Wareing, Bishop of Northampton.
Right Rev. Thomas Joseph Brown, Bishop of Newport.
Right Rev. William Bernard Ullathorne, Bishop of Birmingham.
Right Rev. William Hogarth, Bishop of Hexham.
Right Rev. Thomas Grant, Bishop of Southwark.
Right Rev. William Turner, Bishop of Salford.
Right Rev. George Errington, Bishop of Plymouth.
Right Rev. Thomas Burgess, Bishop of Clifton.
Right Rev. James Brown, Bishop of Shrewsbury.
Very Rev. Provost Crook, representing the Bishop of Liverpool.
Very Rev. Canon Cheadle, representing the Bishop of Nottingham.

Theologians of the Synod.

Right Rev. Mgr. Newsham, President of Ushaw College.
Very Rev. Canon Weathers, President of St. Edmund's College.
Very Rev. Canon Rooker, President of Prior Park College.
Rev. John Henry Newman, D.D., Cong. Orat.
Rev. Henry Edward Manning.
Rev. Robert Cooke.

Theologians Nominated by the Bishops.

Westminster—Very Rev. Canon Maguire.
Beverley—Very Rev. Provost Render, V.G.
Northampton—Very Rev. Provost Husenbeth, D.D.
Birmingham—Very Rev. Canon Morgan, D.D.
Hexham—Rev. Michael Gibson, Vice-President of Ushaw College.

Southwark—Very Rev. Canon Cox, D.D.
Salford—Very Rev. Provost Roskell, D.D., V.G.
Plymouth—Rev. Father Forn, S.J.
Liverpool—Very Rev. Canon Cookson.
Shrewsbury—Very Rev. Provost Hall, V.G.

Representatives of the Chapters.

Westminster—Very Rev. Provost Whitty, D.D., V.G.
Beverley—Very Rev. Provost Render, V.G.
Northampton—Very Rev. Provost Husenbeth, D.D., V.G.
Birmingham—Very Rev. Provost Weedall, D.D., V.G.
Hexham—Very Rev. Canon Platt.
Southwark—Very Rev. Canon Cox, D.D., V.G.
Salford—Very Rev. Canon Croskell.
Shrewsbury—Very Rev. Canon Egan.
Clifton—Very Rev. Canon Vaughan.
Liverpool—Very Rev. Canon Fisher.
(The Chapters of Nottingham and Newport had not yet been erected.)

Representatives of Religious Orders.

Benedictines—Very Rev. John Molyneux, D.D., O.S.B., President General.
Jesuits—Very Rev. James Etheridge, S.J., Provincial.
Dominicans—Very Rev. J. D. Aylward, O.P., Provincial.
Passionists—Very Rev. F. Eugene, C.P., Provincial.
Institute of Charity—Very Rev. John Baptist Pagani, D.D., Inst. Ch., Provincial.

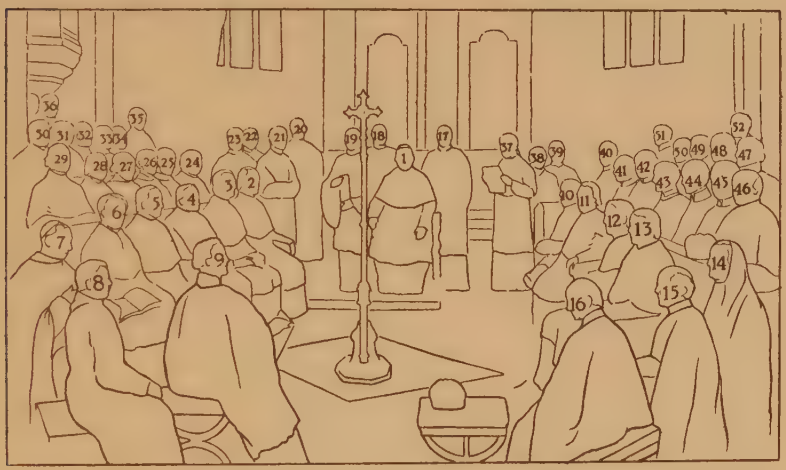
Officials.

Promotor of the Synod—Right Rev. Thomas Grant, Bishop of Southwark.
Secretaries—Rev. R. Bagnall, Vice-President of Oscott College.
Rev. Alexander Goss, Vice-President of St. Edward's College, Liverpool.
Hon. and Rev. William Clifford.
Masters of Ceremonies—Rev. John Wheble.
Rev. James Moore.
Rev. Robert Chapman.

Cantor—Rev. John Crookall, D.D., Vice-President of St. Edmund's College.

Attending on Cardinal—Very Rev. Mgr. Searle.
Sir George Bowyer.

(It will be seen that several of the above attended in more than one capacity.)



KEY TO PICTURE OF FIRST PROVISIONAL COUNCIL.

The unfinished state of the painting renders a complete identification of all the figures impossible. The following key is due to the late Canon Greaney of Leamington. A few additional probable identifications have been added in brackets. The Bishops are sitting in order of seniority, except Dr. Grant, who is standing as *Promotor Synodi*, his seat next to Bishop Ullathorne being left vacant.

1. Cardinal Wiseman.
2. Bishop Briggs.
3. Bishop T. J. Brown (Newport).
4. Bishop Hogarth.
5. Bishop Turner.
6. Bishop Burgess.
7. Very Rev. J. D. Aylward, O.P.
8. Very Rev. F. Eugene, C.P.
9. Provost Crook.
10. Bishop Wareing.
11. Bishop Ullathorne.
12. Bishop Errington.
13. Bishop Jas. Brown (Shrewsbury).
14. Very Rev. J. Molyneux, O.S.B.
15. Very Rev. J. Etheridge, S.J.
16. Very Rev. J. B. Pagani, Inst. Ch.
17. Rev. J. Wheble.
18. Mgr. Searle.
19.
20. Sir George Bowyer.
21. [Provost Whitty.]

22.
23. [Dr. Crookall.]
24. Canon Cookson.
25.
26.
27. Canon Maguire.
28. Provost Weedall.
29. Canon Hunt.
30. [Canon Cox.]
31.
32.
33.
34.
35.
36.
37. Bishop Grant.
38.
39.
40. Rev. R. Bagnall.
41.
42. Provost Roskell.
43. Rev. J. H. Newman.
44. Rev. H. E. Manning.
45.
46. Provost Husenbeth.
47. Canon Morgan.
48.
49.
50.
51. Rev. James Moore.
52.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS IN VOL. II.

1840.	Sept.	9.	Dr. Wiseman arrives at Oscott to take up his new position.
			Dr. Weedall going to Rome obtains exemption from becoming Bishop; but returning to England finds his place at Oscott occupied, and retires first to Old Oscott, then to the mission.
	Nov.	5.	Father Dominic arrives in England; but after a brief stay he returns to Belgium.
1841.	Feb.		Tract XC. is published. Newman retires to Littlemore.
	May	26.	Foundation-stone of St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, laid early in the morning.
	Aug.		Blundell Legacy Arbitration: award in favour of Bishop Griffiths.
	Aug.		Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister.
	June	21.	Consecration of St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham.
	June	23.	Opening of St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham.
	Sept.		Father Dominic arrives at Oscott.
	Sept.	21.	Dr. Wiseman's letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury on the Conversion of England published.
	Oct.		Rev. R. Waldo Sibthorpe received into the Church.
1842.	Feb.		Father Dominic settles at Aston, near Stone.
	Feb.		Dispute about the *Tablet*. The original *Tablet* is continued by Mr. Cox. Lucas publishes the *True Tablet*.
	July	23.	Mr. Cox's *Tablet* comes to an end.
	Nov.	24.	Reorganisation of the "Adelphi," a society of secular priests pledged to work for the re-establishment of the Hierarchy.
1843.	Jan.		The *Tablet* having come to an end, Lucas continues the *True Tablet* under the old name —the *Tablet*.

1843. Mar. 8. Sir James Graham's Factory Bill introduced. Dispute in the *Tablet* between Lucas, Langdale, and others about the Education clauses.

Mar. 18. Deputation to Sir Robert Peel.
Bishop Griffiths and Dr. Cox leave for Rome.

Mar. 30. Commission in Rome between Bishop Griffiths and the Jesuits on the question of the proposed church at Farm Street fails to come to a decision.

April 23. Decision of the Pope on the Farm Street question, being a compromise, somewhat in favour of the Jesuits.

April 28. Bishop Griffiths leaves Rome on his return to England.

June. The Redemptorists come to England and open a house at Falmouth.

June 12. Meeting of Catholic Institute: O'Connell proposes scheme somewhat similar to the "Catholic Rent" in Ireland.

June 15. The Education clauses of Sir James Graham's Factory Bill withdrawn.

July 1. Father Mathew, the Temperance preacher, visits England.

July 5. Opening of St. Mary's-on-the-Quay, Bristol.

July 6. Sudden death of Bishop Baines at Prior Park.

July 12. Father Mathew, after travelling through the North, arrives in London.

Sept. 15. After visiting Norwich, Birmingham, and Liverpool, Father Mathew embarks on his return to Ireland.

Oct. Rev. R. Waldo Sibthorpe returns to the Anglican Communion.

Nov. Bishop Griffiths writes a protest against the methods of Lucas in the *Tablet*.

1844. Jan. Rev. Bernard Smith received into the Church.

May. Bill for the Repeal of the Penal Laws introduced in the House of Lords.

June. *The Ideal of a Christian Church*, by Rev. W. G. Ward, is published.

July 19. Bill for Repeal of Penal Laws—second reading in the House of Lords.

Aug. 1. Bill in the Commons.

Aug. 9. Bill receives Royal Assent.

1844.	Nov. 12-16.	Meeting of Irish Bishops in Dublin. They disagree about the working of the new Charitable Bequests Act.
	Nov. 23.	Lucas writes a violent article in the *Tablet* against the Irish Bishops.
1845.		Regular Missions throughout the country given by Father Dominic, Dr. Gentili, and others.
	Feb. 13.	Condemnation of Rev. W. G. Ward at Oxford.
	May 28.	Anstey's Catholic Relief Bill in the House of Commons—second reading carried.
	July 5.	Bill defeated in Committee.
	Sept. 5.	Mr. and Mrs. Ward received into the Church.
	Sept.	J. D. Dalgairns, Ambrose St. John, and others received into the Church.
	Oct. 9.	Newman received into the Church, with Revv. F. Bowles and R. Stanton.
	Oct. 16.	Death of Bishop Baggs.
	Oct. 29.	Rev. F. Oakeley received.
	Nov. 17.	Rev. F. W. Faber received. Many others follow during the next few months.
		Congregation of Wilfridians established by Faber in Birmingham.
		Failure of potato crop in Ireland.
1846.	Feb. 23.	Newman and his companions move to Oscott, which is re-christened "Maryvale".
	Mar. 11.	Mr. Anstey's Catholic Relief Bill read a second time.
	April 30.	Government Religious Opinions Bill read a second time.
	June 1.	Dr. Ullathorne consecrated Bishop, V.A. of the Western District.
		Death of Pope Gregory XVI.
	June 16.	Cardinal Mastai Feretti elected Pope, taking the name of Pius IX.
	June 24.	Anstey's Bill defeated in Committee.
	June 25.	Government defeated and resign. Lord John Russell becomes Prime Minister.
	Aug. 18.	Religious Opinions Bill passes through remaining stages.
	Sept. 7.	Newman leaves for Rome to enter the College of Propaganda.
	Autumn.	The potato crop in Ireland having again failed, famine breaks out. Lord Russell's Bill to give employment on public works quickly passed.

1846. Nov. 150,000 men in regular employment under new Act in Ireland, with monthly wage bill of £800,000.

1847. Further Government measures for relief of Irish famine. Collections in all the Catholic churches on behalf of the sufferers. Many Irish emigrate to England.

Correspondence between Charles Langdale and the Government on Education grants.

April 19. Education Vote passed; the Wesleyan schools included but not the Catholic schools. Sir Robert Peel speaks on behalf of the Catholics.

May 15. Death of O'Connell.

June 23. Death of Cardinal Acton.

June 29. Association of St. Thomas locally formed by Lucas.

July 9. Bishops Wiseman and Sharples arrive at Rome to petition for restoration of Hierarchy. The Pope consents, subject to matters of detail.

Aug. 11. Death of Bishop Mostyn.

Aug. 12. Death of Bishop Griffiths.

Aug. 24. Dr. Wiseman sent to England on matter of diplomatic relations.

Aug. 29. Dr. Wiseman appointed Pro-Vicar Apostolic of the London District.

Sept. 18. Lord Minto starts for Italy, with instructions to visit Rome.

Nov. 26. Letter of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey to Dr. McHale.

Nov. 29. Letter of Dr. McHale to Lord John Russell.

Nov. 30. Dissolution of the Catholic Institute. Formal establishment in its place of the Poor-School Committee and the Association of St. Thomas.

Dec. 17. Second letter of Dr. McHale to Lord John Russell.

Dec. 23. Newman having been ordained and joined the Oratory in Rome, arrives in London on his return.

1848. Jan. 1. The Earl of Shrewsbury's letter to Dr. McHale on the Irish Clergy.

The *Rambler* founded.

Feb. 2. Newman's Oratory established at Maryvale (Old

		Oscott). Faber dissolves the Wilfridians and they all join the Oratory.
1848.	Feb.	Diplomatic Relations Bill passed in the House of Lords, with some amendments.
		The Irish Bishops and many Catholics in England, led by Lucas, oppose the Diplomatic Relations Bill; Dr. Wiseman continues to favour it.
	Mar. 20.	Great meeting in London, organised by Lucas, to protest against Bill; memorial to Pope voted.
	April.	Dr. Wiseman issues "*Words of Peace*," etc., in reply, and promotes counter-memorial.
	May 25.	Dr. Ullathorne arrives in Rome to negotiate the restoration of the Hierarchy.
	June 11.	The Passionists settle at Hampstead.
	July 4.	Solemn opening of St. George's Cathedral.
	Aug. 2.	The Redemptorists settle at Clapham.
	Aug. 9.	Opening of St. John's, Salford. Dr. Ullathorne arrives in time to report to the assembled Bishops the result of his Roman negotiations.
	Aug. 16.	Dr. Walsh, being appointed Vicar Apostolic of London District (in order to become Archbishop of Westminster), moves to London. Dr. Wiseman his Coadjutor.
	Aug. 29.	Diplomatic Relations Act passed through House of Commons.
	Sept. 8.	Dr. Walsh solemnly enthroned at St. George's.
	Nov.	The Hierarchy delayed by political disturbances in Rome.
	Nov. 15.	Count Rossi, the head of the Pope's Government, murdered. Revolution in Rome.
	Nov. 22.	The Pope escapes to Gaeta.
1849.	Feb. 8.	The Roman Republic proclaimed.
	Feb. 18.	Death of Bishop Walsh. Dr. Wiseman succeeds as Vicar Apostolic of the London District.
	April 30.	The French under General Oudinot marching on Rome are at first defeated.
	May 31.	Opening of the London Oratory in King William Street.
	July 3.	Rome taken by the French.
	July 31.	Opening of Farm Street Church.
1850.	April 12.	The Pope enters Rome.
		Dr. Wiseman appointed Cardinal.

1850.	Aug. 16.	Dr. Wiseman leaves England for Rome.
	Sept. 21.	The Hierarchy finally decided upon: Cardinal Wiseman to be first Archbishop of Westminster.
	Sept. 29.	Bull issued restoring the English Hierarchy.
	Oct. 7.	Cardinal Wiseman issues a Pastoral "from outside the Flaminian Gate" announcing the restoration of the English Hierarchy.
1850 and 1851.		Agitation on so-called "Papal Aggression".
1852.	July 5-17.	First Provincial Council of Westminster.

INDEX.

Acton, Cardinal, i. 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 163, 164, 166; ii. 122, 123, 127, 164, 166, 167, 173, 205.
Acton, Sir Ferdinand, i. 154.
Acton, Sir John, i. 154.
Adelphi, the, ii. 159, 290.
Alford, Dean, ii. 127, 128, 259.
Allies, T. W., ii. 127, 136.
Allies, Miss, ii. 236.
Altieri, Cardinal, ii. 214.
Alton Towers (formerly Abbey), i. 71, 102, 103, 104, 119 *seq.*, 136; ii. 199.
Amadeus, Father, ii. 23.
Amherst, Rev. William, i. 4; ii. 1.
Ampleforth, i. 16, 18, 20, 28, 30, 33, 35, 36, 38, 45, 70, 107, 157, 174, 176; ii. 18, 56.
Ampleforth Journal, i. 45, 70.
Andrews, W. E., i. 74, 195.
Anstey, T. Chisholm, conversion, i. 76 *seq.*, 146, 197, 203; secures repeal of Penal Laws, ii. 72 *seq.*, 163, 202.
Antonelli, Cardinal, ii. 224, 235.
Apostolicum Ministerium of Benedict XIV. (*Regula Missionis*), i. 7, 22, 122, 132, 133, 143, 144; ii. 165, 166, 291.
Arbiters (Bishop Baines and Benedictines), i. 37.
Arbiters (Blundell Legacy), i. 189.
Archer, Rev. James, i. 73.
Archives quoted :—
  Birmingham, i. 139, 151; ii. 9, 14, 245, 246, 250, 251, 254, 272.
  Clifton, i. 24, 35, 37, 44, 70, 135, 136, 156, 204; ii. 10, 56, 164.
  Downside, i. 34, 40, 46, 73, 138; ii. 161.
  Leeds, i. 27, 46.
  Oscott, ii. 201, 233.
  Rome (English College), i. 51, 63, 65, 140, 157; ii. 10.
  Southwark, ii. 63.
  Ushaw, i. 54, 55.
  Westminster ,i. 14, 59, 62, 123, 127, 129, 148, 149, 155, 156, 187; ii. 29, 156, 201, 209, 213 *seq.*
  Westminster, Griffiths letter book, i. 143, 152, 156, 165, 171, 175, 176; ii. 47, 60, 96.
Armellini, ii. 235.
Arundel and Surrey, Earl of, speech on Education, ii. 50, 64, 81; letter to Archbishop McHale, 135, 137, 140, 158, 202, 253.
Arundell, Lord (of Wardour), ii. 78, 201.
Association of St. Thomas, ii. 54, 193, 199.
Aston Hall, ii. 12, 22.

Bacchus, Henry, ii. 127.
Baggs, Bishop, i. 170, 171; ii. 121, 160.
Bagshawe, Henry, i. 67, 76, 146, 152, 190, 203, 216; ii. 178, 210, 257, 281.
Bagshawe, Edward (Archbishop), i. 67; ii. 257.
Bagshaw, John (Canon), i. 670.
Baines, Bishop, V.A. Western District, i. 12; description of, by Wiseman, 13, 14; disagreement with Benedictines, 15; unsuccessful scheme to make Downside his seminary, 16; or Ampleforth Community, 18; not invited to Benedictine Chapter, 19; absence in Rome, 20; presses Downside scheme, maintaining that it was not canonically established, 21; on death of Bishop Collingridge, he returns to England, 22; withdraws Downside faculties, 23; purchases Prior Park, 25; spends winter at Ampleforth, 26, 28; decision on Downside case, 30; Prior Park established by secularised monks and boys from Ampleforth, *ibid.*, 35, 36; dispute as to Bath mission, 37 *seq.*; Downside faculties restored, 39, 40; unsuccessful attempt at mediation by Wiseman, 41; dispute with Cannington nuns, 42 *seq.*; dispute as to Trenchard Street Church, Bristol, 44; goes to Rome, *ibid.*; applies unsuccessfully

for Wiseman as Coadjutor, 45; returns with instructions for arbitration, *ibid.*; Arbitration, 46 *seq.*, 54, 56; letter to Dr. Griffiths on Regulars, 59 *seq.*, 62, 68; receives Wiseman at Prior Park, 69; they fall out, 70, 71; fire at Prior Park, 79, 112, 123, 135, 143, 156; V.A. of New Western District, 166, 169, 174, 175, 176, 204; opposes Rev. G. Spencer and a section of the converts, 210 *seq.*; writes pastoral on subject, 213 *seq.*; summoned to Rome, 215; formal complaints against Pastoral, 216; his answer, 217; decision against him, *ibid.*; on his return he issues two pamphlets, *ibid.*; censured by Pope, 218; objects to Gothic Vestments, ii. 14; establishes Redemptorists, 24; last days and sudden death, 55 *seq.*, 160, 211.
Baldacconi, Rev. A., i. 71, 147.
Barber, Rev. F. L., i. 18, 22, 24.
Barnabò, Cardinal, ii. 165, 166, 213, 214, 215, 216, 220, 221, 281.
Bath Mission, dispute, i. 36; award, 49.
Beaumont, Lord, ii. 75, 76, 286.
Belisy, Rev. E., i. 68.
Bell, Rev. Andrew, ii. 146, 147.
Bergh, Abbot, ii. 181.
Berington, Rev. Joseph, ii. 237.
Bernard, Father, i. 33.
Beste, Rev. K. D., ii. 257.
Beste, Mr., ii. 243.
Birdsall, Rev. J. A., i. 20, 34 *seq.*, 40, 47 *seq.*
Birmingham, St. Chad's Cathedral, i. 110, 118; ii. 10, 11, 65, 234.
Birmingham, St. Peter's, i. 110; ii. 17.
Blundell Legacy, i. 187.
Bonomi, Rev. J., i. 45, 70.
Bourbon, Prince Henri de, ii. 8.
Bowden, Rev. John E., ii. 127.
Bowles, Rev. F., ii. 91, 115, 119, 175.
Bowyer, Sir George, ii. 129, 286.
Boyle, Rev. Richard, ii. 174.
Bradley, Dean, ii. 117.
Bramston, Bishop, resides at Golden Square, i. 12; question of his age settled, *ibid.*, 22, 36; refuses to arbitrate between Bishop Baines and the Benedictines, 40, 41, 43; at Dr. Gradwell's death, 51; obtains appointment of Dr. Griffiths as Coadjutor, 52, 53, 54, 55; opposes Jesuits as to St. John's Wood Church, 58 *seq.*, 64; appreciates Wiseman's Lectures, 73; death, 80, 122, 125, 173; connection with Blundell Legacy, 188; ii. 172.
Bridgett, Rev. Thomas, ii. 127.
Briggs, Bishop, elected on Arbitration board of Baines case, i. 45, 46, 48, 112; elected Bishop, 123, 125, 141, 144, 155; circulates the *Statuta Proposita*, 159; V.A. Yorkshire District, 166, 173, 204, 210; encourages mission by Dr. Gentili, ii. 25, 58; on platform at York meeting with Father Mathew, 62; assists Irish in Famine time, 135; protests against Lucas's attack on Langdale, 154; suggests Education Committee, 156, 164; opposed to Diplomatic Relations, 193; goes to Rome to oppose it, 196, 207, 219, 280, 282, 287, 290, 292.
Brindle, Rev. Thomas, i. 28, 36, 39, 136; ii. 57, 121.
Bristol, St. Mary-on-the-Quay, ii. 55, 57.
Bristol, Trenchard Street, i. 44, 49; ii. 55.
British Critic, ii. 89, 100, 109.
Brooke, Rev. C., i. 45, 48.
Brookfield, Rev. W. H., i. 171.
Brougham, Lord, ii. 64.
Brown, Bishop George, i. 164; ii. 215, 219, 292.
Brown, Bishop James, ii. 282.
Brown, Bishop T. J., i. 17, 19, 22, 23, 34, 46, 47, 48, 166; ii. 282, 292.
Brownlow, Bishop, ii. 127.
Burder, George, ii. 126.
Burgess, Rev. T. L., i. 25, 28, 31, 39, 42, 48; ii. 282.
Butland, Rev. B., ii. 127.
Butler, Rev. Alban, ii. 243, 246.
Butler, Charles, i. 75; ii. 237.
Butler, Rev. Peter, i. 180.
Butt, W., ii. 181.

Cadolini, Mgr., i. 135, 148.
Cahill, John (Bishop), ii. 181.
Calderbank, Rev. L., i. 30, 37.
Camoys, Lord, i. 198; ii. 15, 75.
Capellari, Cardinal, i. 11, 21, 22, 23, 25 *seq.*, 40. See also Pope Gregory XVI.
Capes, Rev. J. M., ii. 118, 238 *seq.*, 245.
Carrega, Mgr., i. 21.
Carter, John, i. 82.
Castracane, Cardinal, ii. 214.
Caswall, Rev. Edward, ii. 127.
Catholic, the, ii. 46.
Catholic Association, i. 195.
Catholic Board, i. 195.

Catholic Committee, i. 194; ii. 155.
Catholic Directory, i. 177; ii. 102, 117, 180, 181.
Catholic Institute, i. 195 *seq.*; ii. 49, 51, 52, 53, 76, 148, 151 *seq.*, 194.
Catholic Magazine, i. 3, 9, 42, 50, 51, 56, 74, 112, 113, 119, 185, 196; ii. 93, 95.
Catholic Poor School Committee, ii. 54, 157.
Catholic Spectator, i. 74.
Catholicon, i. 78.
Chad, St., Relics of, ii. 12, 13.
Challoner, Bishop, ii. 172.
Chapter, Benedictine, i. 19, 20.
Chapter, Secular, i. 55; ii. 290.
Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, ii. 223.
Cheadle, St. Giles's, ii. 126, 199.
Cheltenham, ii. 38.
Christie, Rev. Albany, ii. 126, 259.
Church, Dean, ii. 85.
Ciacchi, Cardinal, ii. 226.
Ciceroacchio, ii. 191, 235.
Cisalpine Club, i. 194.
Cistercian Order in England, i. 106.
Clanricarde, Lord, ii. 64.
Clifford, Lord, i. 63, 105, 146, 151, 156; ii. 52, 225.
Clifford, Hon. H., i. 5.
Coffin, Rev. R. A., ii. 121, 127.
Collingridge, Bishop, i. 20, 36.
Colonies, British, i. 145.
Confraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, ii. 260.
Connolly, Rev. Pierce, ii. 181.
Connolly, Mrs., ii. 181.
Constable, Stephen, i. 198.
Convents, i. 181; ii. 180.
Coombes, Rev. W. H., i. 24, 25, 39.
Cooper, Rev. L., i. 35.
Costigan, Rev. T., i. 101.
Cotton Hall, ii. 126, 178, 199, 252, 254, 255.
Coux, de, Professor, i. 76.
Cox, Rev. Edward, i. 174; ii. 29, 120, 165, 168, 169.
Cox, Mr. (printer), ii. 39, 40, 41, 46.
Crook Hall, i. 52.
Curtis, Archbishop, i. 127.

Dale, Rev. H., ii. 126.
Dalgairns, Rev. J. D., ii. 108, 109, 115, 175.
Dawn of Catholic Revival, quoted, i. 55, 108; ii. 242.
Declaration, Royal, i. 198; Lingard's pamphlet, 199.
Denbigh, Lord, ii. 129.
Derby, St. Marie's, i. 98, 114, 115; ii. 234.
Devine, Rev. Pius, ii. 179.
Digby, Kenelm, ii. 243.
Diplomatic Relations Act, ii. 191 *seq.*, 209.
Dismore, Mr., ii. 40 *seq.*
Disraeli, B., ii. 104.
Döllinger, Dr., ii. 242.
Dolman's Magazine, ii. 115, 242, 245, 250, 251.
Dominic, Ven. Father, i. 140, 163; ii. 19, 22, 24, 26, 115, 178, 179.
Douay College, i. 15, 52; ii. 241.
Douglass, Bishop, ii. 172.
Downside, i. 16, 18, 39, 107; ii. 18, 19, 58, 240. See also Baines, Bishop.
Doyle, Rev. T. ("Father Thomas"), i. 118; ii. 64, 168, 174, 182.
Dublin Review, i. 75, 76, 199; ii. 42, 88, 95, 108, 114.
Durando, General, ii. 226.

Edinburgh Review, i. 75.
Education, Catholic and non-Catholic compared, ii. 238 *seq.* See also *Factory Act*, and *Catholic Poor School Committee.*
Egerton, Sir Francis, ii. 35.
Elphin, Bishop of, ii. 141, 144.
Emancipation Club, i. 194.
Emly, Lord, ii. 129.
Englefield, Sir Henry, ii. 237.
Errington, Rev. George (Archbishop), ii. 8.
Estcourt, Rev. Edgar, ii. 121.
Eve of Catholic Emancipation, quoted, i. 20, 44, 67, 195; ii. 74, 77.
Exeter, Bishop of, ii. 81.
Eyre, Lady Barbara, i. 181.
Eyston, F., i. 198.

Faber, Rev. F. W., joins Tractarians, ii. 87, 103; Vicar of Elton, 121; his travels, 122 *seq.*; writes *Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches*, 122; conversion, 124; founds Wilfridians in Birmingham, 125; at Cotton Hall, *ibid.*; ordained, 126; they join Oratory, 176 *seq.*, 237; edits *Lives of Modern Saints*, 243; attacked by Rev. E. Price and others, 245; letter to Newman, 246; series discontinued, 248; letter to Bishop Wareing, 249; Rev. E. Price apologises, 251; series resumed, 252; foundation of London Oratory, 254; imitation of Roman customs, 256; attitude towards non-Catholics, 258, 259, 262, 263.
Factory Act, ii. 49 *seq.*
Farm Street Church, ii. 28 *seq*, 259.

Farnham, Lord, ii. 141.
Fathers of Charity, i. 67 *seq.*, 137, 176; ii. 21.
Ferdinand, King, ii. 223.
Filippani, Cavalieri, ii. 231.
FitzAlan, Lord, ii. 37, 50, 51. See also Earl of Arundel and Surrey.
Fitzherbert, ii. 12.
Foley, Rev. William, ii. 16.
Fox, ii. 237.
Fransoni, Cardinal, i. 63, 65, 127, 134, 158, 159, 160, 171, 189, 212; ii. 29, 166, 214, 221.
Froude, Hurrell, ii. 83 *seq.*
Fryer, Mgr., i. 58.
Furlong, Rev. M., i. 30, 176; ii. 24, 25.

GABRIELI, Countess, ii. 173.
Gaeta, the Pope at, ii. 232.
Gainsborough, Earl of, ii. 129.
Gallini, Misses, i. 58, 59, 62. See also St. John's Wood.
Garibaldi, ii. 235.
Gavazzi, Padre, ii. 226.
Gentili, Rev. A., i. 33, 67, 68, 69, 135 *seq.*, 176, 216; ii. 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 106.
George IV., i. 10; ii. 191.
Gerard, Sir John, ii. 35, 38.
Giffard, Bishop, ii. 172.
Gillis, Bishop, ii. 58, 185, 280.
Gioberti, Vincenzo, ii. 186.
Giustiniani, Cardinal, i. 10, 128.
Gladstone, W. E., i. 114; ii. 113, 203, 204.
Gladstone, Miss Lucy, i. 114.
Glover, Rev. E. (O.S.B.), i. 48.
Glover, Rev. T. (S.J.), i. 59.
Gordon, Rev. Joseph, ii. 126.
Gordon, Rev. Thomas, ii. 126.
Gothic Vestments, i. 115 *seq.*; ii. 14.
Gradwell, Bishop, i. 12, 51, 52, 187; ii. 172, 189.
Graham, Gillespie, ii. 264.
Graham, Sir James, ii. 49, 80.
Grant, Rev. Thomas, ii. 122, 125, 212, 213, 215, 221, 235, 281, 282, 283, 284.
Gregory XVI., elected Pope, i. 40; writes to the VV.AA., 63, 127, 149; letter to London clergy, 178; negotiations with Bishop Baines, 215 *seq.*; writes to VV.AA., 218; acts in Farm Street dispute, ii. 29 *seq.*; won over by Dr. Wiseman about Oxford conversions, 101; censures Dr. Griffiths, 102; receives Faber in audience, 123; death, 162, 167, 170, 171, 186, 187, 189.
Griffiths, Bishop, elected Coadjutor to Dr. Bramston, i. 52; his qualifications, 53 *seq.*; consecration, 56, 58, 59; not favourable to Dr. Wiseman, 72, 73; succeeds as Vicar Apostolic, 80, 81, 123; goes to Rome to discuss hierarchy proposals, 126; audience of Pope, 127, 128; favours hierarchy, 129; asks opinions of clergy, 130; draws up scheme, 131, 132, 135; on the decree in favour of Regulars, 143, 144; opposes the *Oeuvre*, 146, 147, 149, 153; withdraws opposition to the *Oeuvre*, 153; difference with Bishop Walsh, 155, 159, 160, 164; objects to Dr. Wiseman's action in Rome, 165; V.A. of new London District, 166; his work in his diocese, 168 *seq.*; for the Colleges 173 *seq.*; missions opened or developed, 177 *seq.*; convents established, 180 *seq.*; on church music, 184; action as to Blundell Legacy, 187 *seq.*; action as to Marriage Act, 194; attitude to Spencer's prayers for Conversion of England, 210; letter to Dr. Gentili, ii. 27; opposes building of Farm Street Church, 28; journeys to Rome, 29; compromise as to Farm Street, *ibid.*; returns to England, 30, 43; letter to Lucas about *Tablet*, 47, 58; letter to Lord Stanhope about Father Mathew, 60, 61, 62, 78; letter for Prince Hohenlohe as to Oxford Movement, 96 *seq.*; incurs displeasure of the Pope, 101; his forecast criticised, 103; but proved correct, 104, 120, 150; illness, 159; his last letter, 164; death and funeral, 167 *seq.*, 173, 177, 260, 275.
Grisi, Madame, i. 184.

HAMILTON, M., ii. 165.
Hampden, Dr., ii. 87.
Handsworth, i. 99; ii. 199.
Harcourt, Duc d', ii. 231, 232.
Harding, St. Stephen, i. 106.
Hardman, John, i. 110; ii. 13.
Hearne, Rev. J., i. 73, 180.
Hearne, Rev. D., ii. 165, 211.
Hedley, Bishop, ii. 292.
Hendren, Bishop, ii. 216, 219, 282.
Heneage, Rev. H., ii. 125.
Hierurgia, i. 103, 104.
Hogarth, Bishop, ii. 282, 292.
Hohenlohe, Prince, ii. 96.
Holdstock, Rev. J., i. 5.
Howard, Mr. (of Corby), i. 3.

Howard, P., i. 198; ii. 37, 201.
Huddleston, Mr., ii. 201.
Hunt, Rev. William, ii. 169.
Husenbeth, Rev. F. C., i. 75; ii. 65, 112.
Hutchison, Rev. William, ii. 125.
Hutton, Rev. Peter, i. 30, 176.

Ideal of a Christian Church, ii. 109 *seq.*
Innis, Mr., ii. 40.
Ivers, Rev. Hardinge, ii. 174.

Jauch, Rev. J., ii. 61, 96.
Jenkins, Rev. Jerome, i. 44; ii. 56.
Jerningham, Stafford, ii. 64, 201.
Jerningham, Sir William, i. 82.
Jones, Rev. John, i. 53.
Jones, Mr. (of Llanarth), i. 198.
Jowett, Professor, ii. 113.

Keasley, Messrs, ii. 32, 39.
Keble, Dr., ii. 85.
Kenny, Dr., ii. 181.
Keogh, Rev. Edward, ii. 257.
Kirk, Rev. John, i. 74, 195, 197; ii. 4, 12, 89.
Knill, John, ii. 183.
Knill, Sir Stuart, ii. 129.

Laing, Rev. Francis, ii. 127.
Lambruschini, Cardinal, ii. 186, 187.
Lancaster, Joseph, ii. 146, 147.
Langdale, Hon. Charles, i. 5, 195, 197; ii. 1, 37, 51, 53, 75, 80, 148, 149, 151, 152, 153, 157.
Lansdowne, Lord, ii. 149.
Lanzo, i. 183.
Lawson, Mr., i. 198.
Leigh, William, ii. 178.
Leo XII., i. 32; ii. 189.
Leslie, Rev. Eric, ii. 129.
Lewis, David, ii. 126, 253.
Leyburn, Bishop, ii. 172.
Life of Wiseman, quoted, ii. 2, 3, 30, 180, 208, 242, 286.
Lincoln's Inn Fields, Church at, i. 71, 73, 77, 147, 183, 184; ii. 26.
Lingard, Rev. John, i. 54, 55; drafts letter of VV.AA. to Pope, 62, 75, 158, 159; on church music, 185; on English hymns, 186; pamphlet on Royal Declaration, 199, 200; ii. 5, 6; in favour of Diplomatic Relations, 201; low opinion of converts' scholarship, 237, 242.
Littlemore, ii. 91, 114, 118, 121.
Lives of Modern Saints (Oratorian), ii. 243 *seq.*
Lives of English Saints (Tractarian), ii. 91.
Lockhart, Rev. William, ii. 91, 106.
Logan, Rev. H. C., i. 31, 176, 203; ii. 7, 117.
London, Bishop of, ii. 76, 118.
London Clergy, letter to Pope, i. 160.
Louis Philippe, ii. 223.
Lovat, Lord, i. 198.
Lowther Rooms, ii. 274.
Lucas, Frederick, conversion by Anstey, i. 77, 78, 198, 203; ii. 1; offered editorship of *Tablet*, 31; his manner of writing, 32 *seq.*; political opinions, 34; difference with O'Connell, 37; crisis in *Tablet*, 39; establishes *True Tablet*, 41; difference with Wiseman, 43; failure of original *Tablet*, 46; survival of Lucas's *Tablet*, *ibid.*; visits Ireland and converted to repeal, 47; Dr. Griffiths complains of his writings, *ibid.*; Lucas protests against Education Clauses in Factory Bill, 50; on the Catholic Institute, 54; on the meaning of Fr. Mathew's "Pledge," 67 *seq.*; on the Penal Laws, 74, 76, 77; attacks the Irish Bishops, 78; criticises Wiseman's attitude to Tractarians, 108, 109, 120; on the Irish Famine, 134; on the Government's Education policy, 151; attacks Langdale, 153; apologises, 154; founds association of St. Thomas, 155, 158; falls out with Anstey, 163; obituary article on Dr. Griffiths, 170; falls out with Dr. Wiseman, 174; organises meeting against Diplomatic Relations Bill, 193; draws out memorial against it for signature, 195; retires to Dublin with the *Tablet*, 204.
Lulworth, i. 106.
Lyndhurst, Lord, ii. 80.
Lyons, Lord, ii. 129.
Lythgoe, Rev. R., i. 77, 146; ii. 30, 31.

Macaulay, Miss Catherine, i. 181.
McDermott, Rev. Michael, ii. 141, 143.
McDonnell, Rev. T., i. 74, 110; ii. 10, 11, 15, 16, 174, 211, 212, 216.
McHale, Archbishop, ii. 136; letter to Lord John Russell, 137 *seq.*; second ditto, 139 *seq.*, 144, 195, 209.
McMullen, Rev. R. G., ii. 113, 127.
Maguire, Rev. J., ii. 171.
Mahon, Major, ii. 141, 143.
Mahony, Countess, i. 10.
Mahony, Rev. Francis ("Father Prout"), ii. 243.

Mai, Cardinal, i. 59, 124, 125, 127, 148; ii. 214.
Mamiani, Count, ii. 226 *seq.*
Manning, Rev. H. E., i. 64, 170, 192, 193; ii. 113, 127, 201, 225, 226, 227, 290, 293.
Marriage Act, i. 191.
Marsh, Rev. R., i. 23, 48.
Maryvale, ii. 177, 178. See also Oscott.
Mathew, Rev. Theobald, ii. 59; invited by Lord Stanhope, 60; arrives and visits York, 62; plan of action, *ibid.*; visits northern towns, 63; arrives in London, *ibid.*; goes to Norwich at invitation of Anglican Bishop, 64; thence to Birmingham, 66; returns to Ireland, *ibid.*; discussion in press, 67 *seq.*; on meaning of pledge, 68 *seq.*
Maxwell, Mr., ii. 201.
Maynooth, ii. 241.
Mazzini, ii. 186, 235.
Melia, Rev. R., ii. 209, 210.
Metcalfe, Rev. E. P., i. 28, 30, 31, 48.
Metternich, ii. 186, 225.
Mezzofanti, Cardinal, i. 71.
Miley, Dr., ii. 243.
Mills, Rev. H. A., ii. 125.
Milner, Bishop, i. 74, 82, 101, 193; ii. 105, 237.
Minto, Lord, ii. 190, 191, 206, 223, 285.
Monsell, William, see Emly, Lord.
Montgomery, G., ii. 118.
Moore, Rev. J., ii. 124, 125.
Moore, Thomas, ii. 242.
Moorfields Church, i. 73, 80; ii. 55, 171.
Morgan, Augustus de, i. 58.
Morning Chronicle, ii. 135.
Morning Herald, ii. 67.
Morris, Bishop, i. 58; ii. 58, 156.
Morris, Rev. John, ii. 127, 128.
Morris, J. Brande, ii. 126.
Mostyn, Bishop, ii. 7, 145.
Mostyn, Sir P., ii. 201.
Mount Melleray, i. 105, 106.
Mount St. Bernard's, i. 105, 109; ii. 19, 126, 128.
Murray, Archbishop, i. 181; ii. 78.
Myers, Mr., i. 92.

Nash, John, i. 83.
Neville, Rev. William, ii. 127.
Newman, J. H., visits Wiseman in Rome, i. 65, 139; Vicar of St. Mary's, ii. 83; tour with H. Froude, 84, 85, 87, 88; writes Tract XC., 90; retires to Littlemore, 91, 103, 107, 113; reception into Church, 115; views of old Catholics thereon, 115, 117; Confirmation at Oscott, 119; tour through England, 120; moves to Maryvale (Old Oscott), 121; goes to Rome, 126, 127; Ordination and return, 175; receives Faber's community at Maryvale, 176; Oratory inaugurated, 177, 237; question of Oratorian Saints' Lives, 243 *seq.*; letter to Faber, 248; to Ullathorne, complaining of his action, 250; Oratory fixed at Birmingham, 252; Views on Gothic Architecture, 255 *seq.*; attitude towards non-Catholics, 258, 262; admiration of Wiseman, 286; preaches the "Second Spring," 290.
Newsham, Mgr. Charles, i. 140, 141, 142, 174; ii. 7, 120, 180.
Newsham, Rev. R., ii. 118.
Nicholson, Archbishop, ii. 220, 221, 231.
Norfolk, Dukes of, i. 3; ii. 129, 157, 258, 286.
Norfolk, Duchess of, ii. 129, 258.
Norris, Rev. Edward, i. 67, 147.
Northcote, Rev. J. S., ii. 113, 121, 239.
Nottingham, St. Barnabas's, i. 119; ii. 10, 199, 234.

Oakeley, Rev. Frederick, ii. 87, 88 *seq.*, 103, 107, 118, 119, 194, 240.
O'Connell, Daniel, i. 75, 76, 197, 198; ii. 8, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 52, 53, 54, 76.
"Oeuvre" for Propagation of Faith, i. 146, 147, 151 *seq.*; ii. 260.
Oliver, Rev. G., ii. 243.
Old Hall, St. Edmund's College, i. 15, 54, 80, 90, 148, 173 *seq.*, 179, 192, 200; ii. 239, 240, 242, 275.
O'Neal, Rev. J., ii. 194.
Orioli, Cardinal, ii. 214.
Orthodox Journal, i. 74, 114, 122, 183; ii. 3, 31, 92, 119, 179.
Oscott College, i. 15, 110, 111, 114, 115, 166, 173, 174, 175, 207, 217; ii. 3 *seq.*, 22, 23, 117, 118, 124, 126, 233, 239, 290, 293.
Ostini, Cardinal, ii. 214.
Oudinot, General, ii. 235.
Oxford Herald, ii. 113, 114, 179.

Pagani, Rev. J. B., i. 137, 138.
Paley, W. A., ii. 128.
Palma, Mgr., ii. 212, 230, 281, 283.
Palmer, Father Bernard, i. 108.
Palmer, William, ii. 83, 108, 109.
Palmerston, Lord, ii. 64, 188, 191, 202, 234.

Pantaleoni, Dr., ii. 227, 229.
Parker, Rev. Joseph, ii. 196.
Passionists, ii. 22, 255.
Patterson, Rev. J. L., ii. 127.
Peach, Rev. Edward, i. 110.
Pedecini, Cardinal, i. 61, 63.
Peel, Sir Robert, i. 191; ii. 37, 75, 133, 148, 151.
Penny, Rev. W. G., ii. 175.
Penswick, Bishop, i. 11, 56, 62, 123, 125.
Petre, Bishop, ii. 172.
Petre, Edward, i. 5; ii. 37, 75, 183.
Petre, Lord, ii. 75.
Phillipps, Ambrose Lisle, i. 33, 67; friend of Pugin, 104; hopes for conversion of England, 105; establishes Cistercian Monastery in Charnwood Forest, 105 *seq.*, 116, 117, 163; joins movement of Spencer for Prayers for Conversion of England, 204; low opinion of old Catholics, 211; ii. 34, 106, 128, 158, 201, 243; reproaches Faber, 254; opposes him on Gothic Architecture, 255; high opinion of Anglicans, 258, 259, 263.
Pius VIII., i. 10, 43.
Pius IX., ii. 82; elected Pope, 162, 163; decides to restore English Hierarchy, 166, 171, 175, 179; political state of Rome during his Pontificate, 186 *seq.*; attempts to renew diplomatic relations with England, 190, 203, 212, 214, 217, 218, 224, 225, 226, 230 *seq.*, 283, 284.
Plowden, Rev. Robert, i. 44.
Polding, Archbishop, i. 39, 145; ii. 14, 161.
Pontigny, i. 106, 107.
Portuguese Chapel, ii. 28, 30.
Potter, Mr., i. 111.
Powell, John, i. 92, 101.
Poynter, Bishop, i. 58, 80, 133, 146, 180.
Premord, Abbé, i. 42, 43.
Price, Rev. Edward, ii. 246, 250, 251.
Prior Park, i. 14, 25, 31, 40, 65, 67 *seq.*, 78, 137, 150, 165, 174 *seq.*, 190; ii. 55, 57, 58, 120, 121, 211, 239.
Pugin, Augustus (elder) i. 83.
Pugin, Augustus Welby, i. 82; early life, 83; prepares drawings for furniture at Windsor, *ibid.*; unsuccessful attempt at theatre scene designing, 84; first marriage, *ibid.*; death of wife and second marriage, 85; lives at Salisbury, *ibid.*; account of his own conversion, 85 *seq.*; writes *Contrasts*, 87 *seq.*; moves to Chelsea, then Ramsgate, 91; his work and principles, 92 *seq.*; views about rood-screens, 97, 101; friendship with Earl of Shrewsbury, 102, and with Daniel Rock, 104, and with Lisle Phillipps, *ibid.*; plans Mount St. Bernard's Monastery, 109; work at Oscott, 111; Professor of Ecclesiastical Art there, 113; opening of his first churches St. Mary's Uttoxeter and Derby, 114 *seq.*; conversion of second wife, 119 *seq.*; designs chapels at Ushaw and St. Edmund's, 174; on legacy system, 190; ii. 1, 8, 10; designs St. Chad's, Birmingham, 11; opening ceremonies, 13 *seq.*, 125; designs St. George's, Southwark, 182 *seq.*, 234; differences with Oratorians, 255 *seq.*, 263; his share in new Houses of Parliament, 264; visit to Rome, 265; marries third time, 266; letter in *Tablet* on Rood Screen controversy, 269 *seq.*, 272, 273; protests against Lowther Rooms converted into new Oratory, 274; *Remarks on Articles in Rambler*, *ibid.*; disappointment with his own work, 275; *Treatise on Rood Screens*, 276 *seq.*; enthusiasm at new hierarchy, 289; illness and death, *ibid.*
Purbrick, Rev. Edward, ii. 259.
Purcell, E. S., i. 190.
Pusey, Rev. E. B., ii. 86, 112, 120.

Quiblier, Abbé, ii. 281.
Quin, Michael, i. 75; ii. 42.

Radetzky, General, ii. 225.
Rambler, i. 13; ii. 121, 192, 238, 239, 241, 245, 274, 284.
Ratcliffe College, ii. 239.
Redemptorists, ii. 24, 179, 180.
Regula Missionis. See *Apostolicum Ministerium.*
Reithmuller, ii. 40.
Rey, Rev. A., i. 68.
Riddell, Bishop, ii. 145, 211.
Robinson, Rev. T. G., i. 48.
Rock, Rev. Daniel, i. 103, 119 *seq.*; ii. 159, 242, 289.
Rolfe, Rev. John, ii. 169.
Roman Gazette, ii. 175.
Romilly, Lord, ii. 163.
Rooker, Rev. T., i. 28, 31, 48.
Roothaam, Father, ii. 29.
Rosmini, Abbate, i. 68, 137; ii. 21.
Rossi, Pellegrino, ii. 228, 229.
Rowe, Rev. J. B., ii. 127.

Russell, Lord John, ii. 80, 81, 133 *seq.*, 137, 148, 150, 151, 190.
Russell, Watts, ii. 176.
Ryder, Rev. George Dudley, ii. 126.
Ryder, Rev. Ignatius Dudley, ii. 126.

Saffi, ii. 235.
St. Edmund, i. 106, 107.
St. Edmund's College. See Old Hall.
St. John, Rev. Ambrose, ii. 91, 115.
St. John's Wood, church at, i. 58 *seq.*, 80, 128. See also Gallini, Misses.
Salford, St. John's, ii. 219.
Scott, Bishop, i. 45, 48.
Scrope, Mr., ii. 201.
Sedgley Park, i. 159.
Sharples, Bishop, i. 164 *seq.*, 173, 205, 206.
Sheehan, Rev. J., ii. 16.
Shepherd, Mgr., i. 32.
Shiel, R. Lalor, ii. 243.
Shrewsbury, Earl of. See Talbot, John.
Shuttleworth, W. Kay, ii. 149, 151.
Sibthorpe, Rev. R. Waldo, ii. 105, 106.
Simeon, Sir John, ii. 129.
Simpson, Rev. Richard, ii. 121.
Sisk, Rev. T., i. 197.
Slater, Bishop, i. 19.
Smith, Bishop, i. 11, 29.
Smith, Rev. Bernard, ii. 3, 107, 118.
Smith, James, i. 76.
Smith, Mrs. Campbell, ii. 117.
Soglia, Cardinal, ii. 228.
Southwark, St. George's Cathedral, i. 57, 118, 178; ii. 182 *seq.*, 219, 221, 266, 270, 275.
Spain, Rev. L., i. 21.
Spaur, Count, ii. 229, 232.
Spencer, Rev. George Ignatius, i. 109; organises prayers for conversion of England, 203 *seq.*; at Oscott, ii. 1, 7, 17, 22, 65, 66, 117; joins Passionists, 178.
Stafford, Lord, i. 198.
Stanhope, Lord, ii. 60, 61, 62, 64.
Stanley, Dr., Bishop of Norwich, ii. 65, 113, 127.
Stanton, Rev. R., ii. 91, 115, 119, 175, 176.
Stapleton, C., i. 58, 198.
Statuta Proposita, i., 144, 145, 147, 149, 158, 159, 160.
Statuta Provisoria, i. 132, 134, 144, 145.
Stonor, Edmund (afterwards Archbishop), ii. 185.
Stonyhurst, ii. 18, 28, 220, 242.
Stourton, Lord, i. 197, 198; ii. 75.
Surrey, Earl of. See Arundel and Surrey, Earl of.

Tablet, ii. 2, 3, 25, 32, 35, 37 *seq.*, 68, 70, 71, 80, 108, 114, 134, 136, 137, 143, 144, 152, 153, 159, 163, 167, 168, 170, 174, 175, 179, 188, 191, 193, 195, 204, 209, 240, 269, 289.
Tablet, True, ii. 40, 41, 44, 45, 46.
Talbot, John, sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, i. 5; patron of Pugin, 102, 103, 104, 107; helps to establish Mount St. Bernard's Abbey, 109; benefactor of St. Marie's, Derby, 115 *seq.*, 119; finds fault with VV. AA., 130; in favour of the *Oeuvre*, 146; becomes President, 153, 176; President of Catholic Institute, 196, 209; benefactor of St. Chad's, Birmingham, ii. 11, 15; criticised by Lucas, 33; a Whig in politics, 34, 42, 43; Wiseman's Letter to, 97 *seq.*, 103; invites Wilfridians to Cotton Hall, 125, 129; Letter to Bishop Browne, 141; to Archbishop McHale on the Irish clergy, 141, 144, 158, 175; benefactor to St. George's, Southwark, 183; Wiseman's panegyric of, 198 *seq.*, 254.
Tait, Archbishop, ii. 113.
Talbot, Bertram, ii. 129.
Talbot, Bishop James, ii. 172.
Talbot, Rev. George, ii. 118, 179.
Tempest, Mr. (of Broughton), i. 198; ii. 165.
Thompson, Rev. W., ii. 6, 7.
Thompson, Edward Healy, ii. 127.
Tickell, Rev. George, ii. 126, 259.
Tierney, Rev. Mark, i. 13, 75, 129; ii. 174, 243, 289.
Times, ii. 68, 113, 136, 169, 185.
Toovey, James, ii. 126.
Towneley, C., i. 198; ii. 35, 37.
Tracts for the Times, i. 66; ii. 86, 95, 108; Tract XC., 112, 116.
Trappes, Rev. F., ii. 165, 211.
Trelawny, Rev. Sir Henry, i. 67.
Trenow, Rev. F. W., ii. 127.
Tuite, Rev. Francis, i. 147.
Turner, Bishop, ii. 282.
Turner, Rev. J., i. 39.

Ullathorne, Bishop, on saintliness of Earl of Shrewsbury, i. 103, 132, 137; on Dr. Gentili, 139, 145, 169; ii. 5, 19; early life, 160; letter on accepting Bishopric of Western District, 161, 164; his opinion of Dr. Griffiths, 167, 171; opposed to Diplomatic Relations, 193, 196, 201, 210, 211; deputed to Rome about Hierarchy, 212 *seq.*; letter to Wiseman, 213; draws out

scheme for twelve dioceses, 215; appointed V.A. of Central District, 216; writes to Wiseman announcing acceptance of his scheme as to Hierarchy, 217; returns to meet Bishops at opening of St. John's, Salford, 218, 227, 228; writes on Catholic Education, 240, 245; letter to Newman on Oratorian Saints' Lives, 246 *seq.*; letter to *Tablet* about the same, 250; further letter to Newman, 251, 252, 254, 262, 279, 280; writes to Rome urging Wiseman as first Archbishop, 281, 282, 285, 287, 290, 292; last survivor of Vicars Apostolic, 293.
Univers, ii. 107, 284.
Ushaw, St. Cuthbert's College, i. 15, 65, 123, 173, 174; ii. 8, 120, 129, 219, 239, 242.
Ushaw Magazine, ii. 7.
Uttoxeter, St. Mary's, ii. 14.

VAUGHAN, Herbert (Cardinal), i. 170; ii. 185, 292.
Vavasour, Sir E., i. 71.
Vespasiani, Mgr., ii. 281, 283.
Veto, the, ii. 77.
Victor Emmanuel II., ii. 234.
Victoria, Queen, accession, i. 198; on "Papal Aggression," ii. 287.
Vizzardelli, Cardinal, ii. 214.

WACKERBATH, Rev. A., ii. 21.
Walker, Rev. John, ii. 119, 126.
Walmesley, Bishop, i. 201; ii. 37.
Walsh, Bishop, V.A. of Midland District, i. 11; letter to Benedictines, 27; one of the Arbitrators on Baines case, 45, 48, 49, 56, 105, 108, 109; at opening of new Oscott, 112, 116, 117, 118, 123, 125; visits Rome, 126; audience of Pope, 127, 132, 144; supports the *Oeuvre*, 146, 152, 153, 155, 156, 157; appointed V.A. of New Central District, 166; joins in pastoral on Colleges, 173, 175; action as to Blundell Legacy, 188 *seq.*, 205; encourages Rev. G. Spencer, 207; ii. 3, 4, 9; determines to build St. Chad's Cathedral, 10; inspects newly found relics of St. Chad, 12; opening of St. Chad's, 13 *seq.*; differences with Rev. T. McDonnell, 16, 22, 23; procrastinates on Education question, 149, 171; suggested as new Archbishop, 207 *seq.*; begs to remain in Birmingham, 209, 215; appointed Archbishop of Westminster, 216; moves to London as V.A. in preparation for Archiepiscopate, 219, 220; death, 233, 243, 253, 279, 281.
Ward, W. G., ii. 87, 103, 106, 114, 117, 120, 194, 236, 237, 258, 267, 268.
Ward, Mrs., ii. 114, 117.
Wareing, Bishop, i. 166; ii. 3, 4, 128, 247, 249, 292.
Warwick Street Chapel, music at, i. 183; ii. 29.
Waters, Rev. Placid, i. 23.
Waterton, Charles, ii. 242, 243.
Watson, Mr., ii. 79, 81.
Weathers, Rev. W., ii. 201, 202.
Webbe, Samuel, i. 186.
Weedall, Rev. Henry, i. 75, 147, 160, 166; ii. 4, 5.
Weld, Cardinal, i. 14, 41, 43, 46, 56, 59, 63; death, 126; ii. 189.
Weld, Charles, i. 5, 76, 146, 151, 197, 208.
Weld, Thomas, i. 106.
Weld, Mr., of Lulworth, i. 198.
Weld, Mr., of Chideock, i. 76.
Wellesley, Marquis, i. 1.
Wellington, Duke of, i. 10, 127; ii. 37, 64, 192.
Wenham, Rev. J. G., ii. 126.
Whateley, Dr., i. 66.
Wheble, Mr., i. 198.
Whitaker, Rev. M., i. 209.
Wilberforce, Henry, ii. 127.
Wilds, Rev. W., ii. 160.
Wilfridians, ii. 125, 176.
William IV., i. 10.
Wilkinson, Rev. Thomas, ii. 129.
Wingfield, Rev. W., ii. 126.
Wiseman, Bishop, i. 12, 13; life in Rome, 14; suggests compromise by Sanatio on case between Bishop Baines and the Benedictines, 30; Baines's scheme for Catholic University, 31; attempts mediation in Benedictine case, 41; dangerous accident, *ibid.*, 43; Baines's application to have him as Coadjutor refused, 45, 51, 59, 64; visit to England, 65; views on Oxford Movement, 66; visit to Prior Park, 67; falls out with Baines, 69; travels through England, 70; Lecture at Lincoln's Inn Church, 71, 72; lectures at Moorfields, 73; founds *Dublin Review*, 74 *seq.*, 78, 79, 80, 81, 123; letter to Dr. Griffiths on Hierarchy, 124 *seq.*, 126, 127; letter on misunderstandings at Rome, 135 *seq.*; plans with Dr. Newsham

for coming to England as a missionary, 141 *seq.*; letters on English affairs in Rome, 148, 149, 151; blamed by Dr. Baines, 156; scheme for sending Passionists to England, 163 *seq.*; he is unpopular with English Clergy, 165; appointed President of Oscott and Coadjutor V.A., 166; consecrated Bishop, 167, 168, 169, 171, 174; on Prayers for the Queen, 201; letter to Rev. G. Spencer encouraging him, 207; prayers for conversion of England, 209 *seq.*, 217; ii. 1; arrives at Oscott as President, 3; letter to Lingard, 5, 6, 7; his work at Oscott, 8 *seq.*; St. Chad's Cathedral, 11 *seq.*; difference with Rev. T. McDonnell, 15 *seq.*, 21; receives Father Dominic, 22 *seq.*, 29; letter to Lucas on the *True Tablet*, 43; receives Father Mathew at Birmingham, 65; letter to *Times* on meaning of Pledge, 68, 84; article on Donatists, 88, 89, 91; articles on Tractarians, 95; letter to Earl of Shrewsbury on Re-union, 97 *seq.*, 103; receives Sibthorpe, 105, 106, 108, 109; confirms Newman and others at Oscott, 117 *seq.*, 120, 121, 122; compromised by Earl of Shrewsbury's Letter on Irish Clergy, 144; agitates on Education, 152, 160; deputed to Rome to plead for Hierarchy, 163; his report, 164; draws up petition, 166; sent back to England on Diplomatic mission, 167, 171; Pro-Vicar of London District, 173; mixed reception, 174; disclaims connection with *Tablet*, 175, 176, 177; establishes Passionists in London, 178; and Redemptorists, 179; other diocesan work, 180 *seq.*; opens St. George's Cathedral, 184 *seq.*, 189, 195; writes *Words of Peace* to counteract Lucas's meeting, 196; draws out counter petition for signature, 201, 204, 205; the most suitable candidate for Archbishopric but too young, 207, 208; proposed by Barnabò as Coadjutor to Dr. Walsh in London, 209, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217; to be Coadjutor to Archbishop, 218, 219; influences against him in Rome, 220 *seq.*; his difficulty about St. George's, 221; assists at death of Bishop Walsh, 233, 234, 236, 242; approves of Faber's Saints' Lives, 243; urges Rev. E. Price to apologise for his attack, 251; having become V.A. London District, approves of foundation of London Oratory, 253 *seq.*; Institution of Forty Hours' Exposition, 268; created Cardinal, 279; arriving at Rome learns that he is to return as Cardinal Archbishop, 281; Pastoral from Flaminian Gate announcing Hierarchy, 283; heads deputation to thank Pope, 284; his pastoral one cause of Papal Aggression agitation, 285; made up by his extraordinary vigour in meeting it, 286; *Appeal to English People*, *ibid.*, 287; presides and preaches at first Provincial Synod, 290; the preparation of the Decree his masterpiece, 291, 292.

Wolsey, Sir Charles, i. 217.

Woolfrey, Dom Norbert, i. 105, 106.

Woolfrey, Dom Odilo, i. 108.

Wyatt, Mr., i. 85.

Wyse, Mr., ii. 243.

Youens, Rev. T., i. 7, 45, *seq.*, 147.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, ABERDEEN

274.208
W21

3418

WARD? BERNARD

AUTHOR

The Sequel to the Catholic Emancipation. Vol. II.

TITLE

DATE LOANED	BORROWER'S NAME	ROOM NUMBER

3418